

HOSPITALITY, HUNTING, AND THE HOME IN *GARDEN & GUN*:
DECONSTRUCTING SOUTHERN IDENTITY BASED ON REPRESENTATIONS OF
GENDER, RACE, AND CLASS

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ABSTRACT

ALEXA ELAINE WILLCOXON: Hospitality, Hunting, and the Home in *Garden & Gun*: Deconstructing Southern Identity Based on Representations of Gender, Race, and Class

(Under the direction of Theresa Starkey)

In my thesis, I have studied how Southern identity is formed through Southern leisure magazines, specifically *Garden & Gun*. I chose to narrow my focus by choosing to look only at the 2014 editions of the magazine, and I also looked primarily at the food, alcohol, homes, and hunting sections in order to be concise. Through my research, I have discovered that the magazine, although trying to be inclusive for race and gender, struggles to accurately depict the South. Instead, the magazine focuses on the primarily white, upper classes of the region, which creates an imagined reality for the reader. But, while race is not represented in sections of the magazine, gender representation (for white men and women) is always equal. While researching, I discovered that in the food section of the magazine, *Garden & Gun* allows the kitchen to become an inclusive domain by representing men and women, white and black, equally alongside one another. So, this means that *Garden & Gun*, while trying to be inclusive for everyone, is unable to expand the acceptance to other sections of the magazine.

PREFACE

I began working on this thesis with the expectation that the outcome would show racial and gender equality for all. But, I was surprised while studying *Garden & Gun* that the magazine often fails to include race in any of its articles. I found this troubling, since the region is a melting pot of sorts for different races. By researching and studying the methods that *Garden & Gun* uses, I have become fascinated with how Southern identity is imagined through different texts, pictures, and movies.

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Introduction

Section 1: *Garden & Gun*

In the spring of 2007, Rebecca Wesson Darwin created the magazine *Garden & Gun* after moving back to the South from New York City. Darwin was approached by Pierre Manigault, the owner of a small magazine in Charleston, to give editorial advice on a city magazine.¹ Unlike Manigault's vision, Darwin wanted to create a magazine that "focused on the Southern region, but which would resonate with readers no matter where they lived across the country."² Building off of that vision, Manigault, Darwin, and John Wilson formed a new magazine entitled *Garden & Gun*. It is a unique name, and without glancing at the mission statement or inside an issue, the reader does not know what the magazine is about. Darwin says that the name of the magazine is "a metaphor for the South—it's land, the people, their lifestyle, and their heritage."³ The title originally caused some confusion amongst readers who ordered the magazine, expecting large sections on guns and hunting, as opposed to architecture and food. But, this title shows the strength and the beauty that encompasses the South, and that is at times at odd with one another. In this way, the "gun" part of the title could be seen as a representation of the South's violent past, while the "garden" part is an allusion to the representation of the South in popular culture, specifically Hollywood. By thinking of a South as a garden, the reader is given nostalgic images of moonlight and magnolias. The two adjectives in the

¹ Lydia Dishman, "How One Small Magazine Came Back from the Brink of Extinction," *Fast Company*, June 26, 2015. <http://www.fastcompany.com/3047883/lessons-learned/how-one-small-regional-magazine-came-back-from-the-brink-of-extinction>

² Dishman, "How One Small Magazine Came Back from the Brink of Extinction".

³ *Garden & Gun*: About Us

title are at odds, but in a way compliment one another, because it shows the reader the complexity of Southern history.

The focus of *Garden & Gun* is to “cover the best of the South, including the sporting culture, the food, the music, the art, the literature, the people and their ideas.”⁴ By setting high standards for readership, along with penning notes to anyone who bought the magazine, Darwin successfully created a Southern leisure magazine that currently has over a million readers and has “experienced a 140%+ growth rate since the spring of 2007.”⁵ This growth is due to *Garden & Gun*’s mission to bring Southern culture to all people:

Garden & Gun is the only magazine that moves from the sporting life to lush land and gardens, from architectural pursuits to adventurous travel, from food and drink to visual splendor. *Garden & Gun* is an idea about how to live—how to live a life that is more engaged with the land, the literature, the music, the arts, the traditions, and the food. It is about appreciating the richness of the South and knowing how that understanding can enrich one’s life and translate beyond Southern geography. **It is about a life well-lived.**⁶

This mission statement is interesting because it describes the South in a nostalgic way. In this brief paragraph, *Garden & Gun* spans a vast amount of topics, from the outdoors to the inside. But, what is most important to understand is that the magazine is explicitly instructing the reader on “how to live”. So, the editors of the magazine are presenting *Garden & Gun* as an etiquette manual, of sorts, that will properly illustrate to the reader how to become “Southern”. But, the magazine fails to inform the reader that this version of the South is a skewed one.

⁴ *Garden & Gun*: About Us

⁵ *Garden & Gun*: Advertise

⁶ *Garden & Gun*: The Mission

This mission statement mythologizes the South because it talks of a region that does not exist. The South, for all of its struggles, cannot be seen as a harmonious region. Instead, there are different narratives that are present in the South. *Garden & Gun* chooses to focus on the white, upper classes of Southern society. The lifestyle represented in the magazine is only a small percentage of the South, and it is not easily attainable. But, instead of overtly stating that the white, upper class values and lifestyle are the only ones that matter in the South, *Garden & Gun* fails to talk about class status at all in the magazine (at least not in direct terms). Instead, the magazine is at war with itself as it struggles to accurately depict the South, which it fails to do. By focusing on only the white, upper class lifestyles, *Garden & Gun* becomes silent on issues of racial and gender equality. This silence becomes a way for the magazine to tiptoe around issues that continue to plague the region, such as gender rights and racial profiling, and instead only shows the South as a region of leisure and wealth for whites. Even though the magazine fails to directly tell the reader about its intentions in portraying the South in this way, it does act as an educator and cultured tastemaker.

As *Garden & Gun* has continued to rise in popularity, it has become the arbitrator between a changing South and its readers. As an educator, the magazine aims to show Southerners and the outside world alike that the region is progressing in terms of race and gender roles (this is not always true, but more on that later). As a cultured tastemaker, *Garden & Gun* uses articles as a way to instruct the reader how to “perform” the part of a Southerner. This performativity can be seen throughout all sections of the magazine, even if it is not stated. By performing the roles that the magazine presents, the reader is then able to become an active participant in the Southern culture that *Garden & Gun* places

importance on. These roles allow the magazine to act as an intermediary between the reader and the South by negotiating the imagined South that is presented in the magazine, with reality.

As an educator for the reader about the South, it is important to understand that the region cannot be placed neatly into a little box. The South has multiple narratives that collide and coincide with one another throughout history. Starting with colonial times, the American South has become a place of vast wealth inequality, which in turn creates different class hierarchies, and these classes each have different stories and perceptions about the South. This trend in colonial America has progressed to today, with the South being seen as a melting pot of sorts for people of all genders and race. But, *Garden & Gun* does not use this melting pot, instead it focuses on a cleaner, whiter South. This creates a contradiction between the magazine and its mission statement. Instead of encompassing the entire South, *Garden & Gun* is picking a specific class and focusing on that as the epitome of “Southern-ness”.

Tara McPherson, a Southern historian, says that the South is in “cultural schizophrenia” because “the region remains at once the site of the trauma of slavery and also the mythic location of a vast nostalgia industry,”⁷ What this means is that the region cannot bring a unified South into one frame; instead, the South is a disjointed region. This inability to connect is better explained by McPherson, as she describes this phenomenon as “lenticular logic of racial visibility.”⁸ McPherson says that “lenticular logic is a monocular logic, a schema by which histories or images that are actually copresent get presented (structurally, ideologically) so that only one of the images can be

⁷ Tara McPherson, *Deconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*, (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2003), 3.

⁸ McPherson, *Deconstructing Dixie: Race, Gender, and Nostalgia in the Imagined South*, 7.

seen at a time.”⁹ For *Garden & Gun*, this lenticular logic makes sense because the magazine is only able to focus on one version of the South: the white and wealthy South.

I will take McPherson’s argument a step farther, and say that not only are white and black narratives represented differently, but gender is also another narrative that can be ignored in the South. In *Garden & Gun*, the magazine is progressive in terms of gender throughout all of its articles. This does not mean that black women are shown in the same ways (or as often) as white women. But, this shows how *Garden & Gun* is starting to present the South as a more gender-neutral region. This forces *Garden & Gun* to walk a tightrope between what is acceptable in terms of race and gender, and what is racist or sexist. Although presenting the South as a white region is intrinsically false and a misrepresentation, it is understandable that the magazine does this because of the South’s history of struggling with multiple pasts.

It is important to note that *Garden & Gun* isn’t the only Southern magazine in publication. *Southern Living*, *Southern Lady Magazine*, and *Deep South Magazine* are only a few examples of this. And, while *Garden & Gun* is a Southern magazine, it also falls under another category of magazines: leisure. Some examples of leisure magazines are: *Outdoor Life*, *Travel + Leisure*, and *Gaming and Leisure*. Since *Garden & Gun* is a relatively new magazine, it has followed many magazines before it. Therefore, in order to understand how *Garden & Gun* works as a tastemaker and educator for the South, first we must look at a brief history of magazine publication.

Section 2: Beginning of American Magazines

In 1741, Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin published the first American magazines.¹⁰ With the rise in popularity of the printing press in America, magazine

⁹ Ibid.

manufacturing quickly progressed throughout the states. Influenced heavily by Great Britain, Bradford commented in his first edition of *American Magazine; or, A Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies* that “The Success and Approbation which the MAGAZINES, published in Great-Britain, have met with for many Years past, among all Ranks and Degrees of People, Encouraged us to Attempt a Work of the Like Nature in America.”¹¹ Although Bradford and Franklin’s magazines only stayed in publication for a few months, they foreshadowed the trend in American consumerism and leisure through magazines.

After the American Revolution, the United States struggled to redefine itself. Benjamin Franklin knew that in order to succeed as a nation, Americans needed a “revolution in and reshaping of people’s hearts and minds, their character, and way of life.”¹² Franklin, in his autobiography, instructs the new nation to abolish rigid class hierarchies, place high value on morals, and to strive to have a good work ethic.¹³ These ideas are a part of Franklin’s rules for success about how to become a democratic American. Franklin also places high importance on “the pursuit and acquisition of wealth.”¹⁴ The way to attain wealth is to use “education, hard work, persistence, and some good luck.”¹⁵ This meant that in order to attain wealth, Americans needed to be educated. Thomas Jefferson agreed with Franklin, and in a letter he wrote, Jefferson

¹⁰ David E. Sumner and Shirrel Rhoades, *Magazines : A Complete Guide to the Industry* (New York, 2006), 130.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Christopher E Baldwin, "Franklin's Classical American Statesmanship", *Perspectives On Political Science* 41 (2012): 67.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

argues that “where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe.”¹⁶ By the time of the Reformation, 90% of men and 48% of women were literate.¹⁷ But in the South, slaves were not allowed to be literate, which led to a lower literacy rate for the region, even as literacy rates throughout the United States continued to grow.

As women became more literate, magazine companies began to use them as target audiences. Previously, fashion dictated what women learned in schools, but as the 1800s progressed, secondary education allowed girls to focus on “literature, art, and domestic economy in order to prepare them for family life.”¹⁸ Although women still received a higher education if they were from a higher class, there was a noticeable shift in society during the 1800s that encouraged women to become more educated, at least in the arts and literature.¹⁹ Because of an increase in women’s literacy rates and education, magazines began to cater to women as consumers.

The first successful magazine that was aimed solely at women was *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, which focused on fashion, and served as an etiquette manual for women. *Godey’s* focused on “current problems, on politics, on social and economic questions” that plagued women in America.²⁰ The creator, Louis A. Godey described his publication as “‘a magazine of elegant literature’ designed with the expressed aim to ‘subserve the best interests of Woman.’”²¹ By functioning as an etiquette manual, *Godey’s* became a

¹⁶ Jack Lynch, “Every Man Able to Read,” *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (2011), accessed October 12, 2015. <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter11/literacy.cfm>

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ramona Mihăilă, “Diversification and Conflicts in Women’s Roles in the Late 19th Century Society,” *Contemporary Readings In Law & Social Justice* 4 (2012): 658.

¹⁹ Ibid., 659.

²⁰ Cynthia Lee Patterson, “Performative Morality: Godey’s Match Plates, Nineteenth-Century Stage Practice, and Social/Political/Economic Commentary in America’s Popular Ladies’ Magazine,” *Journal Of American Studies* 48 (2014): 614.

²¹ Joseph Michael Sommers, “Godey’s Lady’s Book: Sarah Hale and the Construction of Sentimental Nationalism,” *College Literature* 43 (2010): 43

way to differentiate class because the magazine encouraged consumerism. By being able to afford the products advertised in the magazine, a female reader was able to set herself apart from lower classes because of her ability to purchase things she wanted. These advertisements were novel, because they “focused on creating unique slogans that customers would remember and that cast products in an optimistic light.”²²

Advertisements also began to appeal to the consumer by saying that these products were “needed” in order to create the ideal home.²³ By telling women what they should buy and how they should act, *Godey’s Lady’s Book* encouraged women to become prominent consumers. *Godey’s* brought trends and consumer products into the homes of American families, which in turn contributed to the growing unity of American identity based on products.²⁴ Along with presenting readers with products to buy, *Godey’s* also emphasized a woman’s role in the home. By appealing to the femininity of women in the domestic sphere, *Godey’s* prided itself on its ability to “cultivate the tastes” of its readers, which in turn increased consumerism trends in the domestic sphere.²⁵ With the increase in wealth distribution amongst all classes, the rise in literacy rates, and the beginning of modern consumerism, magazines began to target a wide variety of people.

Due to technology and public policy, magazine distributing spread across the United States, which in turn enabled consumerism to spread as well. With the completion of the Pacific railroad in 1869, magazines were able to expand across the continental

²² “The Rise of Advertisement and American Consumer Culture,” last modified August 24, 2006, <http://teaching.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000000/000129/html/t129.html>.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Sommers, “*Godey’s Lady’s Book*: Sarah Hale and the Construction of Sentimental Nationalism,” 59.

²⁵ Ibid., 44.

United States.²⁶ Prior to the railroad, magazine companies relied on slow, often unreliable transportation for their magazines, which led to a smaller, wealthier audience. The Pacific railroad enabled magazines to reach a wider audience while keeping costs low because of the speed and efficiency of delivering mail. Then, in 1879, Congress “stimulated the growth of magazines by providing low-cost mailing privileges followed by postal delivery to rural areas.”²⁷ With cheaper shipping rates, magazines were able to keep their costs low, which in turn enabled the middle to lower classes to be able to purchase magazines. These two governmental institutes successfully stimulated magazine production by making magazines available and affordable, which in turn drove American consumerism. While the advancement in technology aided the magazine industry in the nineteenth century, it became a hindrance later on.

At the start of the twentieth century, magazine producers began to fear that the increase in technological advances would lead to the demise of the industry. In the beginning of the 1900s, as automobile production increased, skeptics worried that people would spend more time driving than staying inside and reading magazines.²⁸ When the radio became a staple of the American home, magazine companies again worried that audio would overtake reading.²⁹ Although new technologies were introduced to aid and entertain Americans at home, magazine production has steadily increased from 3,000 titles, at the beginning of the twentieth-century, to more than 18,000 by the start of the twenty first century.³⁰ “The power of magazines stems from the personal identity conveyed not only by their content, but by their total package of color, design, and

²⁶ Sumner and Rhoades, *Magazines: A Complete Guide to the Industry*, 131.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 1.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 2.

editorial tone of voice,” which has enabled magazines to remain the “most intimate form of media because they can establish a relationship with their readers.”³¹

Section 3: The Rise of Leisure Magazines

The rise of leisure activities can be attributed to the emphasis on the family, which began in the mid 1800s. As the family began to center around the child, the “male breadwinner and the nurturing mother now appeared.”³² In addition to supportive parents, domesticity reigned supreme over the workplace, which led the American family to see the home as a haven from the outside world. At the same time, the creation of the middle class expounded across the United States because of an increase in wealth distribution. By the beginning of the twentieth-century, the popularity of leisure activities continued to grow.³³

These activities focused on an individual's free time interests, from hunting to reading. Because of an excess of time, more people began to see leisure activities as a way to escape the stress of the workplace. This led to the creation of the leisure magazine, which focused on interests and hobbies as opposed to news. These magazines “found their niche...because they could offer more in-depth information to more specialized audiences than newspapers.”³⁴ Leisure magazines educated people about things they liked. Leisure magazines allow people to express themselves through their choice of text and acts of consumption. By purchasing a leisure magazine, the reader is

³¹ Ibid.

³² Stephanie Koontz, "The Way We Weren't," *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* 95, (2015): 22.

³³ Sheila Webb, in her academic article “The Consumer Citizen” explains how the focus on the family supported the growth of leisure. By the 1900s, the “growth of mass production and emergence of a public policy aimed at establishing a family wage led to new ideas about family self-sufficiency, especially in the white middle class and a privileged sector of the working class.” With the rise in income, it enabled leisure to “trend toward affluence in the 20th century.”

³⁴ Sumner and Rhoades, *Magazines: A Complete Guide to the Industry*, 129.

able to learn more about a specific activity, which in turn allows them to become a part of a group through education. For example, in *Outdoor Life*, the magazine features a section on survival tactics. Even though some of the readers may never be in a situation where survival skills are needed, *Outdoor Life* enables the reader to be a part of a group with shared interests by reading and educating themselves on a specific leisure topic.

But by the middle of the twentieth-century, leisure magazines began to target the middle class. Beginning with *Life*, magazines began to target the middle class through “choice of topics and the shaping of textual material to present the middle-class experience as the norm.”³⁵ Magazines functioned as tastemakers for the middle class because it told them what to buy, how to style their homes, and how to interact with one another. This class-consciousness sparked a trend in consumerism because of the need to fit in. As more and more people entered the middle class, consumerism enabled an individual to set oneself apart from the rest. This cycle mass produced the middle class values, beginning with the images presented by *Life* magazine, that showcased suburbia and consumer goods as the key to the middle class. One example of this can be seen in the September 1938 issue, where “*Life* promoted consumption...in home building and furnishing.”³⁶ In the article “Do You Like the ‘Modern House?’ *Life* Readers Are Invited to Cast Votes”, the magazine then used that poll in order to instruct its readers on how to buy a house based on income level.³⁷ *Life* magazine also actively informed its readers of what to buy for their homes, and in this way the reader could “not only build a *Life* house,

³⁵ Sheila Webb, “The Consumer Citizen: *Life* Magazine’s Construction of a Middle-Class Lifestyle Through Consumption Scenarios,” *Studies in Popular Culture* 34 (2012): 26.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

but also decorate it according to the editors' suggestions."³⁸ By giving their opinions, *Life* magazine is a reflection of the nineteenth-century because the magazine functions in way that is similar to *Godey's*. This long standing tradition of magazines acting as tastemakers to society continued long after *Godey's* magazine ceased publication, and that can be seen in *Life* magazine as it continues to instruct the middle class on what to buy, and it can even be seen today, such as in *Garden & Gun*.

Leisure magazines proved to be a large success because "affluence-enabled consumption and social mobility, largely driven by leisure interests...insured the profits of the magazines that successfully focused on those interests."³⁹ Even if the consumer cannot afford the ideas or items being displayed in the leisure magazine, the reader is still able to participate through reading. By reading the magazine, the reader is able to fantasize about his or her involvement in the community that is presented by the leisure magazine.

In this way, the reader is able to create an identity based on the text that they choose. Merja Mahrt, a professor at Heinrich Heine University, has studied why people choose the magazines that they do. Mahrt explains that "some magazines tend to mirror their readers' socioeconomic status, whereas others provide them with images from an ideal worth pursuing (e.g., in terms of fashion, lifestyle, or beauty)."⁴⁰ This allows the reader to use the magazine as a way to construct a fantasy if they cannot afford the activities or destinations being presented. In this way, the magazine that a reader chooses reflects "how much readers desire escapist stimulation and images or stories that spark

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Tracy Lauder, "The *Southern Living* Solution: How the *Progressive Farmer* Launched a Magazine and a Legacy," *The Alabama Review* (2007): 203.

⁴⁰ Merja Mahrt, "The Attractiveness of Magazines as 'Open' and 'Closed' Texts: Values of Women's Magazines and Their Readers," *Mass Communication and Society* 15 (2012), 853.

dreams about a life they would like to lead.”⁴¹ This means that readers often pick magazines based off of what they would like to read, something that will excite the imagination; but it also means that the object of interest does not necessarily have to be attainable to the reader. Because of the success that leisure magazines experienced, a subgenre of this style has appeared called regional magazines.

Section 4: Regional Magazines and the rise of *Southern Living*

In order to understand the context of how regional magazines came to be, it is important to understand the conflicts between the North and South after the Civil War. The end of the Civil War left Southerners feeling separate from the North because “the outcome of the Civil War signified the victory of nationalism over regional issues.”⁴² The primary issue at stake was slavery; without a free black labor source, the South was economically falling behind the North. With this economic fallout, the South and North were no longer a cohesive nation. This made the white South resent the North, which led the South to seek the past where slavery still existed. Regionalist writing in the South after the Civil War idolized the region, and “although not all southern local color writing depicted the South in such romanticized terms, the exotic and quaint characteristics of this region were dominant motifs.”⁴³ This is why the South became an area that was known for romanticizing the past through regionalist writing. The North and South became competitors against one another, and “in American literature, regionalism represents a tension between region and nation that manifests itself in the literary

⁴¹ Ibid., 854.

⁴² Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., “Regionalism and Local Color,” In *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

⁴³ Ibid.

hierarchy.”⁴⁴ This led Southerners to turn inwards for the comfort of home, which is why Southern regional writing post-Civil War focused on their region because of the interconnectedness in the planting class.

The camaraderie in the planting classes of the South can be seen in the agrarian magazines that were published around the end of the Civil War, such as the magazine *Progressive Farmer*, which was created in 1886. The *Progressive Farmer* focused on farming in the South, from tips on planting to selling tools. As time progressed, Southerners were forced to become more urbanized and industrialized because of a changing way of life due to advancements in technology. This created “nostalgia for remaining regional differences.”⁴⁵ While *Progressive Farmer* was popular throughout the early twentieth-century, by the 1950s the magazine was on the decline due to “the shrinking farm population” which “meant that the magazine needed a smaller more specialized circulation.”⁴⁶ So, the editors of *Progressive Farmer* decided to capitalize on the connection between Southerners and their rural roots.

During the Civil Rights Movement, the *Progressive Farmer* decided it was important to capitalize “on an affluent, white audience that was desperately trying to hold onto its southern traditions.”⁴⁷ One of these Southern traditions was the separation of race in the South, specifically in regards to the upper, white class Southerners. So, the magazine decided to focus on “attracting readers, luring advertisers, and overcoming an increasingly negative perception of the South”, focusing primarily on the wealthy whites

⁴⁴ Marjorie Pryse, “Writing Out of the Gap: Regionalism, Resistance, and Relational Reading,” *Textual Studies In Canada/Etudes Textuelles Au Canada* 9, (1997): 19.

⁴⁵ Wilson and Ferris, “Regionalism and Local Color”.

⁴⁶ Lauder, “The Southern Living Solution,” 188.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 186.

of the region.⁴⁸ In 1966, *Progressive Farmer* transitioned to become the magazine *Southern Living*. At the time of *Southern Living*'s publication, the United States was in turmoil over racial equality. During the Civil Rights Movement, the South's dedication to segregation created a negative perception of the region. Historian Stephen A. Smith explains that "guardians of the old myth prevailed that the Old South was dying and that the mythic dysfunction was becoming more and more apparent to more and more Southerners."⁴⁹ Because the Civil Rights Movement attacked the core values of the racist Old South, Southerners were beginning to see that the traditions of the Old South were fading into the past; especially black subservience to whites. As Southerners saw the South beginning to deteriorate, they struggled to reconcile their place within the United States. The creation of *Southern Living*, a magazine that aimed to showcase only positive aspects of the South, "sought to comfort and reassure the region's white, upper-class elite while reinforcing segregationist attitudes."⁵⁰

Tracy Lauder, a professor and journalism historian at Emory & Henry College, explored how Emory O. Cunningham, the first editor of *Southern Living*, created the magazine in a time of tension. Cunningham "saw the portrayal of the South and southerners in national magazines as negative and insulting; therefore, he argued, *Southern Living* would find a readership simply because the negative portrayal created a market of southerners desiring a publication that could counter such portrayals with a celebration of the region's strengths."⁵¹ The tensions that Cunningham was referencing were the negative images being portrayed on television of the Civil Rights Movement in

⁴⁸ Ibid., 187.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 186.

⁵¹ Ibid., 195.

the South, especially the violence white Southerners were using in response to nonviolent protests. But Cunningham was right, *Southern Living* became a huge success because it portrayed the South in a positive light, and with the rise in the rate of new homeowners, due to the creation of suburbia, readers gladly purchased *Southern Living* for advice on how to furnish their new homes, entertain guests, and create a wholesome family environment.⁵² One of the key aspects of *Southern Living* was its emphasis on leisure activities. Lauder realized that in the 1960s, northerners “view such ‘laziness’ as a vice, southerners saw this affinity for leisure as a virtue.”⁵³ This illustrates how differences in lifestyle between the North and South led to conflicting views of each region.

Southern Living, by arising out of a time of strife, created an idealized image of the South in order to entice readers. Outsiders were given images of the South as a region that focused solely on leisure pursuits, had ample monetary resources, and emphasized tradition. *Southern Living* helps perpetuate the regional identity of the South by focusing only on the positive attributes of the area. This magazine does not advocate for educational journalism; instead, it focuses on the pleasures that the South has to offer. *Southern Living* creates spaces of silence. This means that race is not mentioned; in *Southern Living*, minorities are missing from the magazine. Instead of focusing on the negative aspects, regional leisure magazines of the South present the reader with an imagined reality where there is no racial conflict, no poverty, and no inequality. By glossing over the inequality in the South, *Southern Living* only showcases the wealthy, white upper classes that have ample resources and time. In this way, the magazine ignores the struggles of poor Southerners in favor of focusing on the beauty of the

⁵² For more information on the creation of suburbia, please see Lizabeth Cohen's work in *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*.

⁵³ Lauder, “The Southern Living Solution,” 184.

privileged upper class. These distorted views influence the reader because they are a product of the stereotypes surrounding the South. Because of *Southern Living*'s success, Southern regional magazines began to capitalize on the ideal Southern lifestyle presented by the white, upper middle classes. This lifestyle, although it can be found in the South, is not the dominant lifestyle of the average Southerner.

Scholar and researcher Gabriela Dumbrava explains that the South has been able to retain a unique regional identity because of “the Southerners’ determination to cultivate an image of their region as a ‘place apart’” and because “the rest of the nation absorbs this image and turns it into a label, out of the instinctive need to define itself in opposition to something different.”⁵⁴ This means that Southerners take pride in their region, and want the South to be seen as a place apart from the rest of the United States. The dichotomy between North and South has led to the creation of stereotypes that surround the South. These different stereotypes have created different images of the South, which means that there are multiple “South’s” being presented to the outsider. “The South is not a monolithic cultural landscape”, but instead it is a multicultural region with many different stereotypes.⁵⁵ It is important to note that it can be argued that the South is a multi-faceted region, where people of all sorts come together to make up a diverse region. If the South was composed of one class, with equal opportunities, Dumbrava argues that the South would lose its identity because it defines itself in terms of difference, from one another to the outside world.

⁵⁴ Gabriela, Dumbrava. "From Archetype to Stereotype: a Postmodern Re-reading of the American South." *European Journal Of American Studies* 2 (2008): 2.

⁵⁵ Sheryl St. Germain, "8 Absurd Myths About Southern Women," *Huffington Post*, March 20, 2014, accessed October 20, 2015.

While not all white, upper class Southerners define themselves as separate from the rest of the country, a group of Southern traditionalists (or people who hold the Old South up as an idol) are “particularly cognizant of their regional identity because they have often been viewed as different from people who live in the rest of the US.”⁵⁶ By separating themselves from the rest of America, they have gained notoriety amongst the rest of the country. This is evident from the types of magazine that the South produces, such as *Southern Living*. These publications have a large readership because they showcase the white, upper class Southerners as idols. Sociologist L.J. Griffin states that: “folks will more likely think of themselves as southerners if they have a consciousness of the South as distinct, perceive it in stereotypically positive ways (and spurn negative stereotypes), and identify with and believe themselves similar to others in the region and dissimilar from regional outsiders.”⁵⁷ In this context, the creation of *Garden & Gun* can be seen as a magazine that follows in the footsteps of *Southern Living*. In doing so, *Garden & Gun* becomes yet another educator and tastemaker for the South and outsiders, but it does so in a way that cuts out large parts of the South’s history and complex racial and gender relations.

Section 5: *Garden & Gun* Introduction Continued: An Overview of Chapters

Food and alcohol are one of the biggest features presented in *Garden & Gun*. Chefs and bartenders present recipes that are given a “twist”. These twists, or updates, are important because it shows to the reader that *Garden & Gun* isn’t stuck in the past, instead the magazine is comfortable with updating previous recipes in order to allow them to change. These updates, although sometimes miniscule, are ways for the magazine

⁵⁶ Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts, "Overlapping identities in the American South," *The Social Science Journal* 50 (2013)..

⁵⁷ Ibid.

to use food and alcohol as rhetorical devices to show how the region is transitioning to become a more accepting space. These recipes help the reader re-enact the performances presented by the chefs and bartenders, or the Southern “experts”. Similar to *Southern Living*, *Garden & Gun* is encouraging performativity of Southern cooking and drinking by giving the reader recipes and tips on how to recreate the food presented in the magazine in their own home. Bourbon and fried chicken help create and reinforce Southern culture, but still allow for outsiders to the region, as well as black and white, men and women, to put their stamps on Southern food. So, for my first chapter, I will be focusing on how fried chicken is being reworked in *Garden & Gun* in order to instruct the reader about how gender and race are able to connect in an inclusive domain: the kitchen. For the latter part of Chapter 1, I will be looking at how bourbon in *Garden & Gun* functions as a way for men and women to interact on an equal playing field. But, the magazine disregards race in terms of drinking, and no African Americans are presented in the alcohol sections of the magazine. This illustrates how *Garden & Gun* focuses on only the white, upper classes of the South, and spurns the rest.

For my second chapter, I will be focusing exclusively on the Southern home. Starting with the rise in Victorian homes, I will explore how this style has become a symbol for the South, and what this means for the modern era. In order to preserve tradition, Southern Victorian homes have been undergoing facelifts, but are still keeping the same outward facade, while the interior is getting remodeled to keep up with modern technological advances. In this way, *Garden & Gun* is encouraging the reader to keep the same exterior, but add modern amenities to the interior, which show how the magazine continues to oscillate between the past and the present, in terms of style and fashion. By

going back to the house, the individual is able to escape and rejuvenate from the outside world; something that lacks morals, ethics, and familial values. But, these homes are not without conflict. In the 2014 editions of *Garden & Gun*, only white families are shown owning these historic homes. While the magazine may be trying to show how the South is becoming more inclusive for race, it only focuses on the white, wealthy families. This illustrates that the South has not yet allowed race to enter the wealthy home section of the magazine. In this way, *Garden & Gun* is still struggling to show equality in the South.

Similar to the home section, the final chapter in my thesis will focus on Southern leisure activities, specifically hunting. Like the home, hunting is a way to socialize and connect back to the land. *Garden & Gun* introduces the reader to leisure hunting destinations where relaxation is the aim. Hunting is secondary to the leisure offered by these destinations. Similar to the cooking and home sections, this is also a way for *Garden & Gun* to instruct the reader how to perform in these situations. But the hunting values being presented actually regress to the nineteenth century. Southerners no longer have to hunt to support themselves and their families; hunting is for pleasure now, not for need. Many of the hunting articles in the magazine don't even give recipes for wild game or illustrate to the reader what to do with the animal after shooting it. Like the homes section, race is not represented in the leisure hunting sections. The only representation of race in these sections are seen depicted as black men serving as guides or helpers in the sport, not as participants. Instead, *Garden & Gun* focuses on the white, upper class sport of hunting, and it fails to recognize that lower classes and other races hunt as well. By giving this image of the South, *Garden & Gun* encourages readers to see hunting as a

leisure activity that gives the reader the chance to reconnect with nature without getting too dirty, but it fails to accurately depict hunting.

Through these chapters, it becomes evident that *Garden & Gun* struggles with accurately depicting the South for the reader. Instead, the wealthy, white upper classes are shown to the outsider as the only way to live in the South. Although the cooking sections are able to be more inclusive, the rest of the magazine struggles to include what race, gender, and class relations are really like in the South.

Chapter 1: What Representations of Bourbon and Fried Chicken Mean in Terms of Gender and Race

Section 1: A Brief History of Alcohol in the South

Ever since the first colonists landed in America, alcohol has been an intrinsic part of culture, from religious ritual to dating practices. As the Mayflower graced the shores of the North, colonists began to make “their own liquors, using local ingredients when imported barley and hops [were] unavailable.”⁵⁸ From that point on, Americans have been putting their own spin on alcohol, which has expanded globally.

Consumption of alcohol in America dates back to England, where Europeans believed that “alcohol was considered essential for life, much safer than water and good to prevent chills, aid digestion, and strengthen the constitution.”⁵⁹ As more and more colonists came to America, it became harder for England to continue to supply her territories with beer and other alcohols. The settlers, forced to interact with Native Americans in order to survive, learned that corn could be used to create alcoholic beverages. In 1640, a distillery in New York City made some of the first spirits from corn.⁶⁰ Today, American whiskey is created primarily out of corn, but at the creation of the United States, rye was still used to make whiskey because it was a familiar grain.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Charles Cowdery, *Bourbon, Straight: The Uncut and Unfiltered Story of American Whiskey* (Chicago: Amazon Books, 2011), 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 2.

⁶¹ Ibid., 3. Not until Daniel Boone began to explore the American West did corn become a staple in American made whiskey. This is because as Boone travelled into the West, settlers began to follow, and as they settled in Kentucky; it became apparent that corn was the easiest crop to grow in this region.

Different parts of the United States are associated with different alcohol, but when people think of alcohol in the South, they think of bourbon. The name “bourbon” is a product of the American Revolution. Kentucky was not a state at the end of the Revolution, but instead was the Kentucky District of Virginia, and because the Virginia legislature was thankful to the French for helping the Americans win the war, they decided to name a few counties in Kentucky after the French.⁶² As Kentucky continued to be divided into smaller counties, Bourbon County was created in 1785.⁶³ These counties were further subdivided into smaller counties, but people living in what used to be Bourbon County continued to call themselves “Old Bourbon”, and when shipping bourbon on the rivers to other cities, “Old Bourbon Whiskey” was how Kentucky whiskey was identified.⁶⁴ As people from all parts of the United States began to taste corn whiskey for the first time, they began to ask for it as “Old Bourbon”. This meant that all distillers in Kentucky, whether they were in the Bourbon County or not, began to advertise their whiskey as bourbon.⁶⁵ From this advertising of Kentucky whiskey after the Revolution, “the name ‘bourbon’ was used to distinguish all American whiskey made principally from corn, regardless of where it was made.”⁶⁶ In order to be considered bourbon, it “needs to be produced in America and made from 51 percent corn, but whiskey does not.”⁶⁷

⁶² Ibid., 25.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 26.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 29.

⁶⁷ Christopher Osburn, “What, Exactly, is the Difference Between Bourbon and Whiskey?” *Men’s Journal*, <http://www.mensjournal.com/food-drink/drinks/what-exactly-is-the-difference-between-bourbon-and-whiskey-20140905>.

Unlike whiskey, bourbon must be stored in new, charred oak barrels, and lastly, it needs to be no more than 160 proof, but no less than 120 proof: this is referred to as “bourbon law.” After creating the bourbon, it must undergo at least two years of aging, although most bourbon

Because of the abundance of corn in the South, bourbon distilleries remain in Kentucky and Tennessee, and both states are seen as southern. The agrarian lifestyle of the South led to the connection between bourbon distilleries and Southern ways of life. The consumption of alcohol, especially bourbon, in the South can be traced to the nineteenth century as a social practice. The upper classes of the South, especially during the 1900s, focused on hosting “that was all opulence, elaborately decorated plantation dining rooms, mountains of food, armies of servants, and rivers of bourbon and champagne.”⁶⁸ After the Civil War, this type of hosting diminished due to the economic downturn in the South, but “a look at the history of Southern hospitality suggests that the one true constant is this passion for a party.”⁶⁹ This connects hosting to class based appearances and social status because drinking becomes a leisure activity in these settings as a way for people to relax and unwind. This enables hosting to become a symbol for class, because wealthy Southerners were able to host larger parties, with more alcohol available.

Because hosting parties is located in the domestic sphere, the home is seen as a domain for drinking culture to thrive. Sociologist Joseph Gusfield explored the cultural symbolism of drinking, and found that drinking serves as a “rite communicating to others such powerful messages as (1) a shift from work to play, (2) adjustment of mood, and (3) a communal desire to seek ‘cover’ while exposing another side of oneself without

distilleries age for a period of four to six years. This law was put into effect with the Bottle in Bond Act of 1897. Through the methods used, the introduction of requirements, and the need for a certain climate to produce corn, bourbon began to be associated with the South.

⁶⁸ Sara Pitzer, *Enjoying the Art of Southern hospitality: Menus, Recipes, and Suggestions for Entertaining Simply and Graciously*, (Little Rock: August House Publishers, 1990), 9.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

censure or judgment.”⁷⁰ In this way, Southern parties at home can be seen as a way for upper class, white men and women to be able to interact with one another in a social setting that retains the same class distinction markers, such as using expensive bourbon instead of cheaper whiskey. So, traditional Southern parties found ways to place men and women in the same setting, but with vastly different roles being played: men (the drinkers) and women (the servers). While women may enjoy and consume these male beverages, these drinks are seen as a symbol of manhood, which connects Southern male identity to bourbon. This has helped to further entrench alcohol consumption as a part of Southerners’ role in hosting lavish parties, especially as an intrinsic part of female Southerners’ identity.⁷¹ For women, “drinking is the target of gender-specific moral regulation practices,” which means that women are not allowed the same liberties as men.⁷²

Today, bourbon has become a way to label a person as “Southern”. Although women previously were popular consumers of bourbon, in today’s society it is the white, masculine, Southern man that is seen as the connoisseur. Unlike dinners and desserts, bourbon was where men “used whiskey to construct a homosocial environment apart from women and children.”⁷³ Historian Sean McKeithan points out that: “Bourbon thus exemplifies southern drink, and since southern drinking has long served in the performance of southern manhood, Bourbon has been distinctly imbued with the rich

⁷⁰ Susan Irvin Gatti, “Fuzzy Navels and Slippery Nipples: A Sociolinguistic Reading of the Cocktail Menu,” *The Journal of American Culture*, 26 (2003), 105.

⁷¹ For more information about hospitality and the South, especially in regards to drinking culture, please see “Re-Mapping southern hospitality: Discourse, ethics, politics” by Anthony Szczesiul and *Southern Hospitality: identity, schools, and the civil rights movement in Mississippi* by David M. Callejo-Perez, as well as *Imbibe!* by David Woodrich.

⁷² Patsy Staddon, *Women and Alcohol: Social Perspectives*, Chicago, IL: Policy Press, 2015, 31.

⁷³ Seán S. McKeithan, “Every Ounce a Man's Whiskey?,” *Southern Cultures* 18, (2012): 10.

historical narrative of the white southern male.”⁷⁴ Only white Southern men are able to drink bourbon and be connected to the South. In this way, bourbon becomes a rhetorical device because it begins a conversation about race and gender. By saying that the white Southern male is represented by bourbon, McKeithan is illustrating that bourbon culture has come to be associated only with the white Southern male.

Although these stereotypes propagate throughout the United States, “it is important to view these social types not as accurate depictions of the way white men *are* in the South, but instead as archetypal wells from which today's men draw as they craft and express their identities.”⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Southern gentleman is a product of his or his ancestors’ success and rise in class status: from the yeoman farmer to “adopting the imagined customs and habits of existing European aristocracy.”⁷⁶ As Sean McKeithan points out, there was no intrinsic difference in bourbons’ quality and taste, only the way that the companies advertised. By using advertisements, bourbon distilleries were able to create the ideal man who would consume their products.

In this way, the South has laid claim to bourbon as a way to distinguish the gentlemen from the backwoods, country boy. McKeithan uses Maker’s Mark and Early Times bourbon as a way to illustrate how these two brands appeal to different types of bourbon drinkers (real or imagined). A 1953 ad for Early Times shows “two burly men...[with] strong forearms, day-old beards, and are covered in flannel...like any self-respecting good old boy, these men are dressed not to impress, but instead to fish and drink the day away.”⁷⁷ McKeithan argues that Early Times depicts its bourbon as the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

drink for the working class, backwoods Southern country boy. This makes the bourbon seem less sophisticated, and more common. But, Maker's Mark aims to do the opposite by appealing to the white, wealthy upper classes of the Southern gentlemen. Maker's Mark, created by Bill Samuels Sr. in the late 1950s, began to differentiate bourbon drinkers based on class status. Samuels "worked to craft a timeless image of the brand that effectively introduced, or reintroduced, the idea that gentlemen drank Bourbon."⁷⁸ Unlike other bourbons, Maker's Mark extols the virtue of craftsmanship that is situated in relation to gentlemanly heritage. "With its entry into the Bourbon market in the late 1950s, Maker's Mark stands in for the contemporary gentlemen, looking down on the Early Times good old boy with self-conscious awareness of the lineage they share," and this is how Maker's Mark sets itself apart from Early Times.⁷⁹ When Maker's Mark first appeared in stores in 1958, it was priced at almost double of what other bourbons were selling for. With this price distinction, as well as the classic textual design, "the product claim is almost absurdly explicit in its transparency: the reason one should drink Maker's is precisely because it is expensive, because it *appears* refined."⁸⁰

And this is how *Garden & Gun* presents bourbon to its audience: as an expensive and refined alcohol that is worth indulging in. The magazine, while advertising multiple types of bourbon, does not focus on the lesser quality, lower price bourbons (such as Evan Williams). The advertisements presented all show expense, top shelf bourbons. But, in the articles, the mixologists typically do not instruct what type of liquor to use; instead they just say generic terms, such as bourbon or vodka. This shows how the magazine's advertisements do not necessarily reflect the views of the authors or recipes presented.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 14.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

But, the issue of class and race in regards to alcohol consumption remains a silent space. *Garden & Gun* does not use any advertisements, articles, or images to show black men or women drinking (at least not in the 2014 editions). This is not an accurate depiction of the South. Men and women of all races and classes drink in the South, but *Garden & Gun* chooses to only focus on white, wealthy men and women. With this in mind, it is important to note that the magazine is showing the reader only a small percentage of Southerners and their lifestyles, and it fails to accurately portray the true South.

Section 2: It's 5 O'clock Somewhere! *Garden & Gun* & Bourbon

Editor David DiBenedetto jokes that at *Garden & Gun* “our Holy Trinity is bourbon, dogs, and barbecue.”⁸¹ This statement made by DiBenedetto connects *Garden & Gun*'s staple subjects to religion—bourbon, dogs, and barbecue, in this sense, become holy for the magazine and the South. By opening any of their magazines, it's not surprising that he lists bourbon first. The purpose of *Garden & Gun* is to educate the reader on all aspects of the South, and as the tastemaker of all things Southern, the magazine must address bourbon. As a symbol of Southern masculinity, *Garden & Gun* gives bourbon a twist by showing that anyone (who is 21) can drink bourbon and enjoy it. Bourbon is no longer limited to white Southern men, it is intended to be enjoyed by all genders. What is interesting is that although *Garden & Gun* uses alcohol as a way to bring gender together, race is absent in the sections about alcohol. White men and women are shown as the experts and consumers of alcohol, but not any other race. This creates a silence surrounding race and alcohol in the South. If a reader were to pick up the magazine and believe it to be a true, unbiased representation of the South, they would not see that other races and classes drink in the South: only the white and wealthy. While the

⁸¹ David DiBenedetto, “Letter to the Editor,” *Garden & Gun* October 2014, 20.

magazine continues to struggle with race in its alcohol sections, it does enable drinking culture to become a gender inclusive domain, something that in the past has been reserved for white men. In this way, *Garden & Gun* reintroduces the reader to bourbon in the South by showcasing new recipes alongside of new drinking experts.

The February/March 2014 issue focuses primarily on alcohol, so the pages are filled with images and recipes of Southern drinks that are being reworked by mixologists in order to show the reader how the South is trying something new in regards to alcohol. The very first feature article in the issue is about Dave Pickerell, who is a distiller that is helping lead the revival of craft spirits. Pickerell is the expert about whiskey and bourbon because he used to work at Maker's Mark, which is a renowned company that produces "1.3 million cases a year."⁸² This allows *Garden & Gun* to present Pickerell as an expert who is helping to lead the "burgeoning craft-distilling movement" based on his previous experience at Maker's Mark and his degree in chemical engineering (which helps him have knowledge of the machines and chemicals used in the distilling process).⁸³ It is interesting that Pickerell, who was once an employee of Maker's Mark, is now helping out the craft-distilling movement because these small batch bourbons are Maker's Mark's competition. While *Garden & Gun* has advertisements of Maker's Mark, along with other world-renowned bourbons, the magazine's articles focus on the craft-distilling movement, not big companies. While the growth of craft distilleries is still a new endeavor, the encouragement businesses have received are bringing the craft distilling movement to the forefront of *Garden & Gun*.⁸⁴

⁸² Clay Risen, "Meet Mr. Whiskey," *Garden & Gun*, February 2014, 32.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Prior to the nineteenth century, all alcohols were made at home through small batch brewing and distilling. By the twentieth century, breweries and distilleries had taken over the market by

Maker's Mark started out as a craft distillery, but with the help of Dave Pickerell the brand expanded to become an international label. While he continued to succeed at Maker's Mark, Pickerell watched the growing craft distilling movement with interest, and he decided that "a lot of people needed help [with craft distilling], and a lot of those areas are where I could help."⁸⁵

Because of his interest in craft-distilling, Pickerell decided to transition from Maker's Mark to smaller businesses in order to educate the new bourbon makers. For Pickerell, bourbon is a trending liquor for the way it tastes. As alcohol continues to evolve in the United States, Pickerell states: "taste is becoming important. That's why vodka is, I think, on the decline. Terroir is becoming important. People also want historic things, authenticity."⁸⁶ In this context, Pickerell is explaining that the reason bourbon craft-distilling is on the rise is because people are experiencing bourbon as a tasty drink, unlike vodka. But, Pickerell goes one step further by saying that people want "historic things, authenticity". Here, Pickerell is harkening back on the tradition of corn and rye whiskey (or bourbon) in American history. With the rest of the nation's interest in the South growing (this can be deduced from the vast amount of publications and movies concerning the South), bourbon craft-distilleries are becoming a success due to a fascination with things Southern. This has led the craft-distillery movement to focus on traditional ingredients in bourbon, one of which is rye, which was the staple of alcohol during the American Revolution.⁸⁷

mass-producing all beer and liquor. In 1965 the first craft brewery was created, it was called Anchor Brewing. As the craft brewing industry has expanded, the American Craft Spirits Association (ACSA) has begun to encourage small, craft batches of liquor.

⁸⁵ Risen "Meet Mr. Whiskey," 32.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

By using rye to create whiskey, the craft-distilling movement is showing how the past can still be relevant today. Pickerell is advocating the use of history to understand how America and the South came to be today. For Pickerell, the creation of a distinctly American way of life was illustrated during the Boston Tea Party. “When they threw tea into Boston harbor, it wasn’t just throwing tea, it was throwing the British way of life, and that included rum, which had been the colonial drink. That didn’t mean they were going to quit drinking, it just meant that they were going to switch to something made indigenously, and that was rye whiskey.”⁸⁸ It is important that Pickerell brings up the American Revolution because he is connecting the colonists work of “throwing the British way of life” away to the rise in the South. Since bourbon and the South go hand-in-hand, Pickerell is subtly saying that the American lifestyle is at times a product of Southern identity, specifically in regards to alcohol consumption. While the colonists were getting rid of the British, they were also forging their own traditions and lifestyle, so by creating bourbon, the South was also creating a new way of life.

For Pickerell, the rise in the craft-distilling movement is an intrinsic part of American identity today, and the emphasis on creating whiskey and bourbon in craft distilleries leads to an increased focus on the South because of the regions connection to this type of alcohol. It is also important to note that as Pickerell continues to extoll the importance of focusing on the craft distilling movement, he is also indirectly raising awareness for a return to small businesses. *Garden & Gun* is pointing the reader away from big business corporations that have left the South, such as Maker’s Mark, by showing the reader that it is fashionable and sophisticated to drink small batch bourbons. But, it is interesting to note that Pickerell once worked for Maker’s Mark and helped the

⁸⁸ Ibid.

brand become international. If Pickerell helps other craft-distillers in a similar way, the small bourbon businesses may in fact grow to be international companies like Maker's Mark. But *Garden & Gun* prides itself on showing primarily local, small businesses throughout the magazine; not giant corporations. This creates yet another internal contradiction because since Pickerell is the master distiller, and is starting to help these small businesses, they could potentially grow to be a large company, which does not mirror the value *Garden & Gun* places on small businesses.

Instead of discussing how small businesses could turn into large companies because of the attention *Garden & Gun* gives them, the magazine turns to drink recipes as a way to show the reader that they too can perform the part of bartender in their own homes. The craft distilling movement has coincided with the craft brewing industry, and *Garden & Gun* illustrates how the two can combine. Nate Shuman, an expert in craft brewing, began to combine the craft brews with liquor in order to create "beertails", a combination of a cocktail and a beer.⁸⁹ Shuman gives a "Dixiefied update" on the French 75, a cocktail that uses gin and champagne as the primary ingredients. Instead of these two European alcohols, Shuman uses bourbon and beer to create the Southern 75, and this is how he is able to "dixify" the European cocktail. Both of these alcohols, associated with the South, mix together to "provide a grainy, earthy, and approachable flavor", which mirrors the agrarian lifestyle associated with the region, even though this lifestyle is largely extinct.⁹⁰ This is another way for bourbon to become a rhetorical device

⁸⁹ Jonathan Miles, "Drinks: Spike Your Beer," *Garden & Gun*, December 2014, 40.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

because it shows how the South, although intrinsically connected to Europe, is claiming its heritage as its own by reworking European cocktails into something Southern.⁹¹

While *Garden & Gun* may feature experts like Pickerell to encourage the readers to immerse themselves in bourbon culture, it does not dictate whether or not they should mix bourbon or drink it straight. Whether it's on the rocks, straight up, or in a beertail, bourbon is meant to be enjoyed. Even Pickerell, when asked if there's a wrong way to drink bourbon, says that "the wrong way to do it is the way someone else tells you if you don't like it."⁹² Although bourbon is seen as Southern staple because of the necessity of corn and/or rye, both crops that are produced primarily in the South, *Garden & Gun* gives the reader multiple ways to indulge in bourbon.

Next to a large advertisement for Bulleit Frontier Whiskey, the *Garden & Gun* column "Ask G&G" addresses how bourbon should be consumed: with or without ice. Guy Martin, the writer of the column, connects bourbon to Southern culture. Ice, he says "is seasonal, not so much about the make or age of the whiskey."⁹³ Martin means that the weather outside dictates how the consumer should fix his bourbon because bourbon "is fire" due to the warmth it delivers.⁹⁴ Ice is not for the cooler months of the year, instead Martin encourages the reader to "go for the pure burn in the fall and winter: Watching the SEC games. Standing around the back of the truck after the hunt. Surveying a plowed cornfield for dove."⁹⁵ The imagery that Martin uses intricately and geographically

⁹¹ While the SFA claims that Southern food is a rhetorical device, I would argue that bourbon is a Southern liquor that is also a rhetorical device that helps the consumer discuss the past. If the table is the universal area for people to come together to talk about a troubled past by using food as a starting point, I believe that bourbon is even better at starting the discussion about the South's past.

⁹² Risen, "Meet Mr. Whiskey," 33.

⁹³ Guy Martin, "Ask G&G," *Garden & Gun*, February 2014, 38.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

connects the South to bourbon consumption. The reader won't just be watching a football game, they'll be watching an SEC (Southeastern Conference) football game. The reader will be warming up after a fall hunt around a truck. The reader will be in a cornfield, which represents the agrarian South that produces bourbon. All three situations that Martin discusses are illustrated to the reader as traditional Southern ways of life. Bourbon is the uniting force in these three instances, which create a trifecta of Southern-ness. On the other hand, in the summer "pull out a bucket of rocks, stuff your glass with both things, and feel the pleasant trickle down the palm of your hand as your glass starts to sweat and everything, including the very prettiest people around you, start to melt." The imagery that Martin uses is another connection to the South. This quote rolls off the tongue as smooth as molasses. Martin is not only encouraging the reader to participate in Southern drinking culture, but he also invokes Southern dialect and word choice in order to further immerse the reader in the South. Bourbon, according to Martin, is a way for people to gather together in order to celebrate life in the South. Once again, bourbon is presented as a uniting force because it brings both men and women together; but also, once again there is no reference, imagery, or text relating to race.

Whether gathered together at a house party or at a new bar, bourbon is able to bring people together through the act of consumption. Because the South is seen as the hospitable region, it is only natural that storytelling and bourbon go hand in hand. For chef John Currence, "weak drinks and hospitality don't mix."⁹⁶ When Currence remembers his childhood, he doesn't remember when his parents came in to kiss him goodnight, he remembers "the smell of whiskey still sweet on their breath. I loved boozy

⁹⁶ John Currence, "Double or Nothing," *Garden & Gun*, February 2014, 78.

things from a young age.”⁹⁷ This reinforces performativity, and it also enforces the myth of hosting that is associated with the South. Because of his parents actions during his childhood, “‘learning to drink’ and ‘handling your alcohol’ were part of growing up” for Currence.⁹⁸ While college kids accepted watered down drinks, Currence was offended by the lack of a decent pour because he saw it as intrinsically un-Southern. To be hospitable, in Currence’s view, the host must pour liberally and often because it is “a measure of respect and a totem of value.”⁹⁹ Currence’s take on bourbon continues to reference nostalgia for the past, specifically his childhood, which he associates with his parents drinking habits. Without Southern hospitality, bourbon becomes just another type of liquor; but with the nostalgic longings present, bourbon is a way to reconnect with the past through consumption. By performing like his parents, Currence is able to relive his childhood, in a way, by drinking bourbon. This shows how *Garden & Gun*, like Currence, sees bourbon as more than just a drink: it is a Southern social tradition. Bourbon becomes a rhetorical device because it shows how people come together in social settings because of bourbon.

In the February issue, John Currence began the discussion about bourbon by placing high importance on hospitality and drinking. “Cheers! The Definitive Guide to the South’s Cocktail Culture” uses John Currence as a launching point in order to discuss the best drinks in the South. The images in this section focus primarily on bartenders, in famous restaurants or bars across the South, mixing up new concoctions and creating a twist on the classic. In one image, a female bartender is seen shaking up a cocktail. The bar behind her is a bright white, with dozens of liquor bottles placed on the shelves. The

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

primary focus of the image is on the woman, who is wearing a bowtie and white button down; she looks as if she is dressed in a feminine tuxedo. The caption below reads:

“Josephine House bartender Megan Bontempo in the Austin bar’s polished uniform.”¹⁰⁰

Garden & Gun presents Bontempo, a woman, as a master of bartending and mixology, which makes her an expert. Unlike previous magazines, such as *Southern Living*, which encourage traditional gender roles, *Garden & Gun* allows men and women to be active participants in all areas of the magazine, but this acceptance does not transcend to race. While the South can be seen as a region with strict gender roles, *Garden & Gun* subverts this generalization by actively showing women in areas that would typically be reserved for men. Instead of showing representations of traditional masculinity drinking bourbon, *Garden & Gun* encourages all genders to participate.

On the page opposite from Bontempo is a recipe by a famous Southern bartender: Alba Huerta. All issues of *Garden & Gun* present the reader with new drink ideas, new types of alcohol, and the mixologists that create them; but the 2014 February/March edition highlights “Classic Southern Drinks: The Original Julep, a Perfect Toddy, Highball How-tos, and Much More.”¹⁰¹ The cover of this edition focuses on a seemingly traditional mint julep in a silver tumbler. The ice is piled high in the tumbler, and a large sprig of mint decorates the left side of the cup, next to a black straw. Condensation sits on the outside of the tumbler, and small droplets of water run down the sides, and a few pieces of ice are scattered around the mint julep. This cover leads the reader to imagine a sultry Southern day, where the only thing to combat the heat is a strong, cold drink. In small white writing by the right of the cup it says: “The Antebellum Julep”, and it also

¹⁰⁰ Jessica Mischner, Jed Portman, and Jamie Gnazzo, “Cheers!,” *Garden & Gun*, February 2014, 82.

¹⁰¹ Cover: *Garden & Gun*, February 2014.

states that the recipe can be found on page 83 of the issue.¹⁰² Although the image is simple, it maximizes the effects of the humid South and the cold, classically Southern drink by bringing it to the forefront of the issue. While the name brings to mind traditional representations of Southern identity, *Garden & Gun* subverts this representation. The creator of the Antebellum Julep, Alba Huerta, is a female mixologist. Huerta is considered an expert for the reader because of her success as a bartender, and because of her knowledge of alcohol. In this way, *Garden & Gun* is presenting a traditional Southern drink in a new light because a female bartender is featured as the drink expert. In today's culture, the mixologist is valued as an expert because of their knowledge of alcohol, as well as their experiences. Unlike hostesses of the twentieth-century, who were not considered experts in mixing, Huerta is showing how recreating traditional, Southern drinks has enabled drinking culture to become more inclusive for gender.

The magazine presents Huerta as a “thirteen-year veteran of the Houston cocktail scene”, which gives her credibility as an expert.¹⁰³ Like Pickerell, Huerta also focuses on traditional Southern cocktails and liquors (such as bourbon) and gives them an updated taste. While the mint julep traditionally uses bourbon as the primary liquor, Huerta creates a new Antebellum Julep that uses rum instead. Although Pickerell extols the virtues of bourbon because it is an American creation, Huerta subverts this by using the mint julep, a Southern creation, and bringing it back to its European forefathers who drank rum. Although *Garden & Gun* supports the South as an independent region, and encourages pride in the South, it still recognizes that its roots began in England, and the

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Mischner, Portman, and Gnazzo, “Cheers!,” 82.

gentility of England can still be seen today in the South. So Huerta, by creating a mint julep using rum, is claiming her dominance over the Southern drink. *Garden & Gun* is playing with the identity of the South by focusing on two important aspects: modern creations (bourbon craft distilleries) and traditional practices (English influence). These two aspects combine in order to help the reader oscillate between the masculine-traditional South and a more gender-inclusive South. This allows *Garden & Gun* to represent bourbon and the drinking culture of the South as a way to show that the region is becoming more modern, because it is inclusive for all genders.

While *Garden & Gun* includes advertisements for all major bourbon distilleries, it does not encourage the consumption of a specific brand. For *Garden & Gun*, bourbon is the epitome of Southern-ness, no matter who is making it. But, once a year, *Garden & Gun* introduces the reader to its “Made in the South Awards”, which aim to promote local Southern businesses. While the South is expanding to become a more urban region, *Garden & Gun* still encourages small businesses to be the staple of Southern culture. As a tastemaker for the reader, *Garden & Gun* allows small businesses to submit samples of their products that fit into one of five categories: outdoors, food, home, drink, and style & design. In December 2014, the winner of the drink contest was Kentucky Owl Bourbon. Dixon Dedman, the creator, “is resurrecting his family’s distillery one easy-sipping bottle of bourbon at a time.”¹⁰⁴ The original Kentucky Owl Distillery was shut down in 1916 “in a fit of pre-Prohibition puritanism”, but the family continued to tell stories of the bourbon that was distilled.¹⁰⁵ Dedman’s family continued to talk about the bourbon legacy for generations, until he finally decided to resurrect the business. As a winner of

¹⁰⁴ “Meet the Winners: 2014 Made in the South Awards,” *Garden & Gun*, December 2014, 134.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

the Made in the South contest held annually by *Garden & Gun*, these small businesses receive high demand from consumers wanting to be a part of the trend. By holding these awards, *Garden & Gun* establishes itself as the tastemaker of the South, and by choosing bourbon as one of the winners, the magazine continues to connect the South with bourbon. This means that even as time progresses, the South still holds some things from the past in high regards, such as bourbon. So, if the reader wants to perform as a Southerner, they need a bottle of bourbon in the liquor cabinet in order to complete the image.

Not only does bourbon inhibit the senses, it also creates a unity that stems from sharing a stout glass of bourbon. While food may bring people to the table, bourbon brings people to the bar, a place where liquor and talk both flow freely. Bourbon, either straight, on the rocks, or in a cocktail, enables *Garden & Gun* to introduce the reader to a new drinking culture that includes white women alongside white men. This inclusivity shows how the magazine is accepting of gender relations and equality, but it fails to depict any other race participating in this aspect of Southern culture. While *Garden & Gun* tries to show how the South has become a more equal region, it fails to show any time of race relations in the alcohol sections. This creates a problematic silence because it inaccurately represents the true South and instead focuses on an imagined, wealthy region where a majority of the occupants are white and in the upper class. The lack of diversity in the alcohol sections illustrates that although *Garden & Gun* says it is depicting the South, it is instead creating an imagined reality for the white and wealthy.

Section 3: A Brief History of Southern Food

The South has always been linked to what people are eating. Southern staples, such as fried chicken, biscuits, and sweet potatoes, have become untethered from their historical conception and are now prospering across the United States. This leads Southerners and non-Southerners alike to forget how the complex history of the South has led to the creation of these typically southern foods. John Egerton, one of the founders of the Southern Foodways Alliance, states that: “Food *is* history. Food *is* place. Food *is* power *and* disempowerment.”¹⁰⁶ Egerton is illustrating that food, for the South, has become so much more than just a necessity to survive; instead, food has become a symbol for a region, one that acknowledges a troubled past, but at the same time strives for equality today. One of the ways the South has created an identity separate from the rest of the United States is through its food practices and performances. From the slave quarter to the plantation table, food has given the South the ability to recreate itself over time based on who is cooking, where they’re cooking, and what’s cooking.

Within the South itself, no other form of cultural expression, not even music, is as distinctively characteristic of the region as the spreading of a feast of native food and drink before a gathering of kin and friends. For as long as there has been a South, and people who think of themselves as Southerners, food has been central to the region’s image, its personality, and its character.¹⁰⁷

This excerpt from one of Egerton’s books further illustrates how food has become the dominant symbol of the South. While music has long been one of the South’s greatest attributions to the United States, food is still the biggest uniting force for

¹⁰⁶ Marcie Cohen Ferris, “History, Place, and Power: Studying Southern Food,” *Southern Cultures* 21 (2015).

¹⁰⁷ Egerton, *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*, 2.

Southerners because it allows the region to come together through a shared appreciation of food.

With so many different types of Southern food (from fried chicken to okra), that come from different backgrounds (beginning with the Native Americans and being cooked by slaves), and created in response to different historical times (from the arrival of the first colonists to the Civil War), it begs the question: Is there only one type of Southern food, and if there isn't, which dish is more Southern than the others? These dishes have shaped Southern culture, but as time has progressed, these foods have evolved in order to compensate for mass production. The South is known for its food, but by being famous for fried chicken, large companies have reworked recipes in order to create easier, faster, and cheaper imitation Southern food. In short, the country has developed "excesses of southern food fetishism."¹⁰⁸

The South is a world so shaped by history and memory that it is difficult to separate myth from reality. The same is true for southern food. Fried chicken, biscuits, and sweet tea, too—the icons of southern food—are so "super-sized," enriched, sweetened, and filled with butter that they are almost unrecognizable to native southerners. *Real* southern food is a distinctive, innovative cuisine that is grounded in the world of local agrarian traditions—soil, waters, region, season, flora and fauna—and the influence of global cultures.¹⁰⁹

So, how do we find out which foods are truly Southern, and which foods are copycats? Because the South is a region that is constantly at war with itself over race, gender, and class, Southern food means different things for different people. This question is also complicated because of the difficult past of Southern food, primarily the connection between slavery and Southern food. This means that while *Garden & Gun* extolls certain foods as the "true" Southern dishes, that doesn't mean that all Southerner's

¹⁰⁸ Ferris, "History, Place, and Power: Studying Southern Food".

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

agree. While the magazine may ignore fast-food companies, such as KFC, as “un-Southern”, other Southerners may see KFC as the epitome of the South. It is important to keep in mind that although *Garden & Gun* claims knowledge of what is truly Southern food and what isn’t, these claims may change or be contradicted by others.

By tracing the history of Southern cuisine, it becomes apparent that two separate narratives have evolved. The first is true Southern cooking (as shown by *Garden & Gun* and others), which can be set apart from imitations because of the way it is fixed, presented, and the rituals surrounding the dish. The second is fast food driven consumption, which has spread across the country as a convenient way to eat Southern foods. Through *Garden & Gun*, the reader is given the opportunity to revamp the Southern classic dishes. These dishes need to be updated in order to further distance themselves from a troubling past. By allowing men and women, black and white, to be considered experts in the realm of Southern food, these recipes are undergoing makeovers, and these changes that are being added to the Southern staples are *Garden & Gun*’s way of showing how equality has progressed to the kitchen. This twist on the classic, however, is not an imitation of Southern food. By using chefs (experts), *Garden & Gun* instructs the reader on how to bring the modern South into the home by updating the classic dishes in order to show how the South is evolving to become a more accepting region. While *Garden & Gun* showcases chefs as experts, this does not translate to the everyday home cook. This is because the magazine is highlighting the importance of following chefs who have succeeded outside the home in their own restaurant, not Southerners who cook at home for their families.

As *Garden & Gun* continues to explore what Southern food is, it is important to understand the history of the region and food. While Southern cooking has largely been attributed to slaves of African descent, it is important to note that the Native Americans were the first to introduce Southerners to regional growing practices. In an essay on her heritage, Malinda Maynor Lowery discusses how Indians are “largely forgotten” for their role in Southern foodways; or as Lowery says: “You might as well call southern foodways Indian foodways if you want to accurately credit the people who originated it.”¹¹⁰ With the introduction of maize and other plants to the English diet, the Southern agrarian lifestyle stems from Native American influence. Although Native Americans’ help was vital to the success of the colonists, “the irony is that taking our land, white landlords routinely denied our sharecropping families enough land to grow gardens, and now our Indian communities are food deserts.”¹¹¹ Although Native Americans may have started the Southern food traditions, slaves who worked the land and fed their white masters created the food that we recognize today as Southern.¹¹²

Southern food, also referred to as soul food, which is anachronistic to us for slaves cooking in antebellum time, was introduced to the United States as slave culture continued to grow in the South.¹¹³ Beginning in 1619 in Jamestown Colony, Virginia,

¹¹⁰ Sara Wood and Malinda Maynor Lowery, “As We Cooked, As We Lived,” *Southern Cultures* 21 (2015)

85.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² For more information on Native American cooking practices, please read *Old Trace Cooking: Native American and Pioneer Recipes*, by Gladiola Branscome Harris, or *The Encyclopedia of Native American History* by Peter C. Mancall.

¹¹³ Soul food, unlike “comfort food”, is specific to only the South. Comfort food can be any type of food that a person associates with a good memory, time, or place. For the purpose of my thesis, I will be looking only at soul food as it pertains to the South. Even though people commonly associate Southern dishes with comfort food, it does not mean that Southern foods are the sole comfort foods. Soul food was a term created in the 1960s as a way for blacks to redefine the food that they had created during slavery.

slaves have been on American soil and an intrinsic part of the culture. The transatlantic trade route connected the American colonies to Africa and South America, which brought not only slaves, but also new types of foods. European colonists, Native Americans, and African American slaves combined their cooking practices to create a melting pot that would produce the next generation of food for the Americas. By the 1630s, with enough slaves to serve the upper classes, “food took on more of a social function.”¹¹⁴ As more people arrived in America, a demand for more space and labor forced the expansion of the colonies. As the South grew, so too did the amount of laborers needed in order to continue the spread of colonialism. By the outbreak of the Civil War, four million slaves lived in the South.¹¹⁵ From the mid 1700s until 1860, the explosive growth in the slave population directly reflected the development of food and hospitality in the South.¹¹⁶ Slave cooking also enabled the white, wealthy owners to separate themselves from the lower classes because of their ability to buy black men and women who would cook for them. The labor used in these plantation homes created the perceived social standing of the owner.

As slavery continued to grow throughout the South, the Southern food culture differed dramatically from its northern brethren. The South relied on black slaves in order to prepare and cook the food served at the masters’ tables, which meant that the black slave became to be associated with good food. This stereotype grew because “it was often

¹¹⁴ Egerton, *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*, 14.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

said that all blacks were born cooks, perhaps because slave children learned to cook before they were old enough to go out into the fields to work.”¹¹⁷ It is remarkable that:

In the most desolate and hopeless of circumstances, blacks caught in the grip of slavery often exhibited uncommon wisdom, beauty, strength, and creativity. The kitchen was one of the few places where their imagination and skill could have free rein and full expression, and there they often excelled. From the elegant breads and meats and sweets of plantation cookery to the inventive genius of Creole cuisine, from beaten biscuits to bouillabaisse, their legacy of culinary excellence is all the more impressive, considering the extremely adverse conditions under which it was compiled.¹¹⁸

As soul food continued to be cooked by slaves, it also began to be associated with the black body as the only legitimate way to separate true soul food from the imposter.

Although the Civil War ended slavery, it did not end black servitude to white bosses. As blacks continued to cook, soul food came to be defined “in terms of three attributes: a connection to Africa and the diet of enslaved blacks, something inherent in the black body, and a tool to define black identity.”¹¹⁹ In this way, blacks began to take control of the food they cooked.

At the end of the nineteenth century, blacks continued to be treated as if they were still enslaved by their white masters. Conditions remained horrible for the black men and women living in the South, but the North still remained as a symbol of freedom and equality. Blacks began to move north after Reconstruction, and this enabled southern soul food to be transported as well. The Great Migration, beginning in 1917, allowed for

¹¹⁷ Sheila Ferguson, *Soul Food: Classic Cuisine from the Deep South*, (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), 11.

¹¹⁸ Egerton, *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*, 15.

¹¹⁹ Laretta Henderson, “*Ebody Jr.* and ‘Soul Food’: The Construction of Middle-Class African American Identity through the Use of Traditional Southern Foodways,” *MELUS* 32 (2007).

blacks to bring their culture to the rest of the United States.¹²⁰ Without education or monetary resources, blacks in the north worked in kitchens as cooks in order to provide for their families. It was in the north that “slowly the white world began to discover the richness of that heritage” that created soul food.¹²¹ Between 1917 and 1970, six million African Americans had migrated north, primarily into urban areas.¹²²

But, not all African Americans moved north, some continued to stay in the South, where the white upper and middle classes still relied on black labor in order to support their households. As suburbia allowed for the creation of the middle class, Southern white middle class families continued to rely on specifically on the black female help in order to care for their children, cook, and clean their homes.¹²³ Soul food continued to stay in the white kitchen because of the continued presence of the black chef. Just like antebellum planters, soul food remained in the kitchen of the white middle and upper classes.

Today in the South, soul food is still an intrinsic part of the region, but somewhere along the way Southern food’s identity became blurred. It is no longer seen as a product of slave culture, instead it has become associated with the white planter class. Beginning in the late 1990s, a group of Southerners began to question where soul food came from, who made it, and how its past became so muddled. The Southern

¹²⁰ “Great Migration,” History, accessed November 15, 2015, <http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/great-migration>.

¹²¹ Ferguson, *Soul Food: Classic Cuisine from the Deep South*, 14.

¹²² “Great Migration,” History.

¹²³ Not all African American women were seen as suitable to live in the home; instead, white families looked for a “mammy”, or a sexually “non-threatening figure” that “exemplified the ways in which the Black woman could truly work with white. The mammy figure, a common trope in popular culture, became the ideal domestic servant who served white families across the South. For more information about tropes of the black body and food, please see “Mammies and Matriarchs: Tracing Images of the Black Female in Popular Culture 1950s-Present,” by Christopher J. P. Sewell.

Foodways Alliance (SFA) formed to “provide a pathway into understanding how food can be considered a modern-day rhetorical expression of the South’s complex racial, social, and cultural identity.”¹²⁴ By documenting how Southern food came to be, the SFA works to give credit to all people who helped create the food that represents the South. Food becomes a rhetorical vehicle to discuss the troubles of the South by providing “a way to celebrate the South’s history while temporarily setting aside the troubling memories of the segregated and poverty-ridden South.”¹²⁵ This is why the SFA pushes for using food as a way to open up the conversation about the South’s past, because “breaking bread together builds bonds and that shared sense of identity creates an opening for the articulation of Southern identity build around food.”¹²⁶

It is through this lens that I am exploring food representations in *Garden & Gun*. While the SFA focuses primarily on race relations through food as a rhetorical device, *Garden & Gun* only briefly alludes to the troubles that plague the South. Instead, *Garden & Gun* is the fun counterpoint to the educational Southern Foodways Alliance. While both groups aim to promote the South, *Garden & Gun* does not focus primarily on the issues that still exist. That is not to say that *Garden & Gun* does not believe that the South’s troubled past did not exist, or that it is not relevant today; instead, the magazine aims to entertain the reader, and only alludes to the deeper issues that still plague the region. In this way *Garden & Gun* re-presents foods from all aspects of the South, and in some instances the magazine also begins a dialogue about where these foods came from

¹²⁴ Wendy Atkins-Sayre and Ashli Quesinberry Stokes, "Crafting the Cornbread Nation: The Southern Foodways Alliance and Southern Identity," *Southern Communication Journal* 79 (2014): 78.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

and how they root the South in a larger narrative. I will be focusing primarily on the images and recipes of fried chicken that are presented in *Garden & Gun* during 2014. Like the SFA, I will be analyzing how these foods are presented to the reader, and I will also explore how *Garden & Gun* enables the reader to perform a Southern identity through recreating the recipes in their own homes for their own families, and in a way, bring a piece of the true South to the rest of the United States.

Section 4: Southern Comfort--Fried Chicken in *Garden & Gun*

Fried chicken is a symbol of the South because of its connection with the region, from Colonel Sanders fast food fried chicken to Paula Deen's frying techniques. But, in the pages of *Garden & Gun*, fried chicken becomes a complicated symbol because it represents more than just a tradition, it shows how the South is trying to be a more inclusive region in terms of race. *Garden & Gun* does this by showcasing how race intersects in the Southern kitchen. The images of Southerners in the magazine show a diverse group of people that eat and cook fried chicken, all in the same location and in the same way, and this makes it inclusive.

Because of the complicated history surrounding Southern food, *Garden & Gun* is showing how Southern chefs today are becoming more diverse. Southern restaurants now act as spaces where gender and race intersect in a progressive way because they are able to acknowledge the past, but move forward by consuming updated recipes of traditional Southern foods, such as fried chicken. But, these restaurants that are presented by *Garden & Gun* are not fast food places. Instead, these restaurants range from upscale eateries to rural stores. The reason that *Garden & Gun* does not focus on fast food is because it is mass-produced, and is no longer connected to the Southern region. And, the magazine

focuses on wealthy, upper class living; not cheap deals. By focusing primarily on authentic Southern restaurants and chefs, *Garden & Gun* steers its sights away from common food spaces and focuses on Southern restaurants that are unique to the region and are not chain restaurants.

By showcasing new ways of cooking fried chicken, chefs act as experts to the reader because of their success in the culinary world, which makes them a reliable source for the reader to gain knowledge about the South. These chefs are both men and women, black and white, but they all have something in common: they create fried chicken in a professional setting (the restaurant) and are equally represented as successful and true Southerners, no matter their background. In this way, *Garden & Gun* is showing that people who perform the act of “being Southern” can in fact become Southern. By showing that being Southern is no longer an exclusive domain based on where the individual was raised, fried chicken becomes accessible to the reader because it is being reworked. The revisions to these recipes made by the chefs presented in *Garden & Gun* allow the fried chicken to be reborn into the South by escaping the slave culture it was originally associated with, and being updated in an inclusive kitchen. Although fried chicken can be seen as a “normal” Southern food, *Garden & Gun* is reworking recipes, techniques, and chefs themselves in order to illustrate how parts of the South are undoing the norms of Southern cooking. These updated recipes show how the chefs in the South are using fried chicken as a way to bring people of all races and genders together in a common appreciation of Southern cooking.

Brenda Williams, a chef in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, is featured in *Garden & Gun* along with her restaurant Home Style, which is located in a trailer. For John T. Edge, the

author of the article, he went to Home Style “in search of home as well as home cooking.”¹²⁷ It is interesting that Edge associates Southern cooking, as illustrated by Williams, as home. This is another example of the language that *Garden & Gun* uses to instill a sense of nostalgia in the reader. For Edge, going back to Southern cooking means going back home. The name of Williams’ restaurant also alludes to the home because it is called Home Style. This name does not imply five-star dining for the wealthy; instead, it brings to mind the comfort of being able to relax in a setting that is familiar. So, while *Garden & Gun* primarily does focus on the wealthy, upper classes, this example of a Southern restaurant is anything but expensive. By focusing on an affordable, truly Southern restaurant, *Garden & Gun* is showing that Southern food does not have to be expensive to be good. Home Style becomes a restaurant where the consumer is able to enjoy Southern food with a connection to the home. This nostalgic feeling is meant to encourage the reader to try Southern foods as a way to connect with their past through eating.

Williams’ cooking practices for fried chicken are able to remind the consumer of home and the past, but by consuming this chicken in the present, the reader begins to see the differences time has made. Fried chicken, since it is associated with slaves cooking, is at times seen as an “offensive” food, for lack of a better term. But, by having Williams, a successful black chef, cooking the fried chicken, it is showing how she has become dominant over the negative imagery surrounding the dish. This enables fried chicken to be a rhetorical device that enables people to join together, from all walks of life, in order to enjoy the South, and it also allows black chefs to stake mastery and claim to the food that they used to cook for their masters. Now, instead of cooking fried chicken for free,

¹²⁷ John T. Edge, “Fork in the Road: Tastes Like Home,” *Garden & Gun* February 2014, 130.

these chefs are making an income because of their knowledge of the cuisine as well as their skills.

In Williams' restaurant, the act of eating fried chicken has brought a group of Southerners together who, arguably, wouldn't typically relate to one another. In *Home Style*, "a pivot to the right brings her [Brenda Williams] to the register, where a clutch of female customers, wearing floral print housedresses and pink hair curlers, has gathered to gossip. Two stutter steps to the rear, and she's at the stove, pulling pork chops from the fryer for a flirty crew of male construction workers, covered in drywall dust."¹²⁸ This eclectic group of people presented illustrates how the magazine uses fried chicken as a rhetorical device because it brings race and gender relations to the forefront of the article.

Shoved together in this small trailer, people "bask in the hospitality of a woman who calls every other customer Sweetheart" and enjoy a meal.¹²⁹ Williams, a black woman, is an expert because of her ability to perform the role of chef. The picture of Williams shows her in the kitchen, holding a large silver bowl, and wearing a red apron. In the background, hordes of spices are seen on a clean wooden table, waiting to season the fried chicken that she is preparing. A close up of her food is in the next picture, showing a stack of fried chicken wings in a Styrofoam to-go box. Unlike *Garden & Gun*'s focus on luxurious ads and destinations, when it comes to food, the magazine presents world-renowned chefs right next to rural Southern cooks, and both are seen as experts in their field. For *Garden & Gun*, the return to a homelike feel is just as important as an expensive meal at a fancy restaurant. Although this may seem like a traditional, "normal" kitchen, with a black female chef serving whites, *Garden & Gun* showcase how

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

Williams subverts this because she is the owner of her own restaurant, a profitable one at that. The customers are there for Williams' food, and this allows the restaurant to become an inclusive domain. It also illustrates how the South has progressed from the slave era into an era that is striving for equality by showing Williams, a black chef, as an expert in making fried chicken. By portraying Williams as an expert, she is transcending slave stereotypes that are connected to the Old South because she is an independent chef.

Because *Garden & Gun* focuses on the South, a region with deeply rooted traditions, such as cooking, the magazine isn't afraid to tell readers that these recipes can be changed and still considered Southern. For chef Todd Ginsberg, "an unconventional secret to perfectly crispy fried chicken" is another way to update the fried chicken recipe in order to show how Southern foods can evolve. Fried chicken is a Southern creation, but other nations and styles of cooking have undertaken this staple as a way to add their own twist. Ginsberg, a native of Vernon, New Jersey, "moved south and decided he could reinvent fried chicken."¹³⁰ Although this may seem like a cocky statement, Ginsberg and *Garden & Gun* are able to make this claim because of Ginsberg's success in the Southern culinary world. And, *Garden & Gun* is also subtly telling the reader that even though Ginsberg, at one time, could be considered an outsider to the South, he has become an accepted, true Southern chef because of his choice in food: namely, fried chicken. He is also considered Southern because of his successes in the South cooking Southern food: this has made him an expert, even though he's from the North. The image of Ginsberg's fried chicken looks traditional enough, and just by glancing at the full-page image, no one would guess that it had been reinvented. Pieces of a wing, a leg, and a thigh are fried to a gold brown, and laying atop a paper towel that covers a silver tray. A red sauce, that

¹³⁰ Kim Severson, "Anatomy of a Classic: Fried Chicken," *Garden & Gun* January 2014, 29.

looks like it has flakes of pepper floating atop, is placed next to the pieces of chicken, with a silver spoon covered in the sauce next to it. It looks mouthwateringly good. Opposite from the image are three small pictures, and they illustrate the cooking method that Ginsberg uses. Chicken soaking in buttermilk, covered in flour in a bowl, and finally, in the fryer, seems like the traditional way to cook fried chicken.

But, Ginsberg uses his Jewish background as a way to reimagine Southern fried chicken using his own experiences. “Ginsberg sees a lot of similarities between Jewish and Southern food...but there’s no direct counterpart to fried chicken, so when he took it on, he stumbled through a process that resulted in a revelation that kisses a Southern favorite with a touch of Israel and Asia.”¹³¹ This is an example of how *Garden & Gun* features chefs that wouldn’t typically be considered Southern. Unlike Williams, who is a native to the South, Ginsberg is a newcomer. What is interesting is that the South has accepted Ginsberg and given him success because he chose to reinvent fried chicken. In this way, Ginsberg’s fried chicken is acting as a rhetorical device by showing that different cultures can come together and connect over a love of Southern cuisine. By reworking the recipe for fried chicken, Ginsberg is bringing his own touch of culture to the Southern table. Ginsberg sticks to a traditional fried chicken recipe, but he also steams the chicken, instead of only frying it. “With steaming, the chicken is never underdone, since it’s nearly cooked through before it ever hits the pan. And the frying time is reduced to minutes--just long enough to transform the cornstarch crust into a golden-brown shell,” which is how Ginsberg is able to add a twist to the traditional fried chicken recipe.¹³² Next to the article, Ginsberg’s recipe is featured so that the reader can

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

copy his methods at home. The reader is able to copy his recipe for fried chicken and, like Ginsberg, take on the role of performing the part of a Southerner. This is important because it illustrates that *Garden & Gun* not only encourages traditional fried chicken recipes to be reworked, but the magazine also encourages outsiders to participate in the culture. Unlike the Old South, which was segregated and considered separate from the rest of the United States, the South today is becoming a more accepting region in terms of food. By encouraging outsider participation, *Garden & Gun* becomes inclusive in its food sections because it uses fried chicken as a way to show that everyone is invited to the Southern table.

Even though the reader is able to perform the part, simply copying recipes does not mean the reader is able to fully understand Southern culture without making an effort to learn more. Alton Brown, a cooking show host who lives in Georgia, is bringing the South to television in order to educate people about the region and its traditions, specifically regarding food. With the rise in popularity of cooking shows and networks, the United States has entered a “foodie” culture, where food is no longer just nutrients needed to live, but a visceral experience. Brown teaches that “people identify who they are and what they are greatly through food”, and after watching his grandmother in a small, Southern town, he “started to really understand food and understand the value of food and what it meant to Southern identity.”¹³³ By connecting Southern identity with Southern food, Brown is making the case that food in the region functions as a way for Southerners to connect and relate with one another, even if they have never met. This can be seen in Southern restaurants, such as Williams’, where the tables are full and people

¹³³ Brett Anderson, “Southern Showman: Interview with Alton Brown,” *Garden & Gun* September 2014, 32.

from different backgrounds are interacting with one another. Alton Brown's TV show is seen in the magazine as a way to connect Southerners with outsiders, and it also enables more people to become participants in Southern food culture, and this acts in a way that is similar to a restaurant.

It is also important to note that the South has progressed in terms of gender and racial equality in the kitchen because men have joined women in the kitchen. Before the Second Wave Feminist movement, women were seen as the heads of the kitchen, not men. Because fried chicken is intrinsically tied to the region, women who cooked fried chicken were performing the role of a traditional, Southern woman. But, *Garden & Gun* shows men actively participating in the kitchen alongside women. Alton Brown, as a man who is obsessed with foodie culture, is an example of how the magazine places a high importance on people who are successful in the culinary world; but with a range of chefs who differ in background, race, and gender, this shows that the magazine presents the kitchen as an inclusive zone. This illustrates how Southern cooking has evolved to become a gender-neutral activity.

In the past, women who resided in the South based "their identity, their pecking order, their totem pole of the Southern female" on cooking."¹³⁴ *Garden & Gun* teaches its reader that this is no longer true; women featured in the magazine range from expert chefs to professional marksmen, and the same is true for men. By reading the magazine, the reader is able to actively participate in Southern culture by gaining a broader knowledge of what it means to be Southern. This enables *Garden & Gun* to illustrate to the reader that good cooking doesn't depend on race, or even gender. But, Brown states that this openness in the kitchen is still coming to the forefront of the South.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 29.

I think there's still a strong sense of place at the Southern table, but it must be sought out. And its authenticity is constantly being challenged. It doesn't help that the stereotypes of what Southern is continue to be perpetuated to the rest of Planet Earth. I don't think many people authentically get what the South is. At least with food, that must be sought out.¹³⁵

Brown believes that people need to understand the history behind Southern food in order to fully grasp what it is, and this means starting the difficult conversation about race in the South. As the South continues to evolve and change, different people rework Southern food, but that does not mean that history is erased. *Garden & Gun*, like any Southerner, knows that tradition and the past are a constant part of life. But, the magazine subverts the bad parts of the past by showing equality in the kitchen. By using fried chicken as a rhetorical device, *Garden & Gun* is able to subtly discuss how equality is encompassing Southern food culture. Fried chicken is shown in different settings, being created by different people; but these people are all considered experts by *Garden & Gun*. Without explicitly telling the reader, *Garden & Gun* is showing how race and gender are evolving in the kitchens of the South. As Camille Bégin, a historian, explains, “tasting southern food could, depending on the sensory economy in which the eating took place, be a way to resist, blur, undermine, create, and/or reinforce racial difference.”¹³⁶ This sensory experience that Bégin explores can be seen in *Garden & Gun* because of how fried chicken functions as a delicious way for racial and gender differences to disappear, even if only in the kitchen. As a tastemaker and educator for people who are interested in the South, *Garden & Gun* uses representations of updated fried chicken recipes to accept a troubled past, but the magazine also proves to the reader that the South is able to embrace change as an accepted solution to unequal race relations in the South,

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Bégin, “Partaking of choice poultry cooked a la southern style,” 129.

something that most Southern leisure magazines are still struggling to do. By showing how Southern identity is evolving through representations of fried chicken, *Garden & Gun* is able to encourage inclusivity and equality in the kitchen with new chefs and new techniques, all the while still paying homage to the Southern food culture.

Chapter 2: Come on in Y'all--The Southern Home

Section 1: A Brief History of the American Home

Throughout American history, the home has been seen as a symbol of prosperity, technology, and family. As the home has progressed, Americans continuously turn to it as a space that is safe from the troubles of the outside world. Beginning with primitive homes and progressing to modern standards, tastemakers such as magazines and books have influenced how homes are built, designed, and decorated. With the help of home manuals, interior designers, and Do-It-Yourself guides, the home has become a place that allows for historic authenticity and creativity to flourish.

One of the first examples of this is *Godey's Lady's Book* because this magazine focused on instructing women in the art of home management and decorating. For *Godey's*, the home became a way for a family to reflect its perceived social standing to the rest of society through decorations and expenses used in the upkeep of the home. Mills Lane, author of *Architecture of the Old South* states that "buildings are three-dimensional history books that reflect the comings and goings, successes and failures, aspirations and follies of real people."¹³⁷ And for the South, a region that places such emphasis and importance on history, the homes that Southerners have kept intact for generations pervade society by allowing the past to live on in the present. The Southern home, a staple in literature, film, and culture, is a product of improvements on history and

¹³⁷ Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1984), 7.

technological advances. The South, as a region, uses distinct building practices in order to connect with one another. Through architecture, the South used “their choices, relationships, sources of ideas, and building practices [which has] reflected and shaped the society in which they operated.”¹³⁸ The Southern home, although it is a product of the past, has continued its popularity because of the role that tradition plays in Southern identity. This is because what is recognized as a “traditional Southern home” is modeled after the wealthy, white Southerners’ houses that were built for fashion and luxury, specifically the antebellum homes. These homes, such as the plantation house, encouraged extravagance in design and decor, and these homes are still used and copied today.

By the early 1700s, more and more wealthy English families were moving to America because of the English civil war.¹³⁹ With them, these families brought new architecture practices and technologies that had been introduced across Europe, and because of their wealth, they built large plantations complete with “servants’ quarters, shops, barns, and other ‘offices.’”¹⁴⁰ These large plantations resembled small towns, with the family members mimicking “the gentry in London.”¹⁴¹ For the colonists, “construction of the private dwelling reflected cultural concerns over upward mobility and impression management...and the pursuit of an American national identity at odds with, but also built upon, a European heritage.”¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Catherine W. Bishir, *Southern Built: American Architecture, Regional Practice*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 1.

¹³⁹ Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, 22.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Janna Jones, "The Distance from Home: The Domestication of Desire in Interior Design Manuals," *Journal of Social History* 31 (1997): 308.

By the end of the 1700s, the iconic Southern architecture that exists today was just beginning to be created. Influenced by Andrea Palladio, a sixteenth-century Italian architect, Southern homes began to incorporate large, open porches, loggias, and large columns.¹⁴³ Many Southern homes today have similar features of the Palladian style, such as covered, wrap-around porches, and high ceilings. These attributes, although fashionable, are aimed primarily at comfort and function of the home. Because the South's climate is humid and hot for a majority of the year, Southern homes have high ceilings in order to try and combat the heat. This is similar for porches, which function as a place for shade in the outdoors, with the hopes of catching a cool breeze. Thomas Jefferson, considered an amateur architect, designed his home, Monticello, in the Palladian fashion.¹⁴⁴ While wealthy Southern families modeled their homes off of European architecture, they used slaves as a source of free labor in order to complete the large plantation homes.

The South, because of its economy, used slave labor in order to build homes. In this setting, slaves would work with white masters and craftsmen in order to build homes for wealthy Southerners. Unlike the North, which was primarily urban, the South remained a rural region, which enabled the wealthy planting class to have large amounts of land, which acted as a small city, where slaves lived and worked in order to provide for the white family. "After the early period, the influence of New England brought to Southern architecture a variety and vitality it would otherwise have lacked," and beginning in the 1830s with the introduction of the Greek Revival style, the South has taken the teachings of these architects in order to homogenize the upper, white class

¹⁴³ Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, 38.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

homes in style.¹⁴⁵ The slaves built the homes that the white masters lived in, and these houses were large and well endowed. Before the creation of mass production, artisans were the predominant masters of architecture and home design.¹⁴⁶

The artisan worked directly with the individual who would use the building. He shaped construction materials by hand, taking most from their natural state and local sources. He made and burned brick from local clay; cut and laid local stone; and cut, sawed, shaped, and smoothed framing timbers, weatherboards, doors, and mantels from local trees. Only a few items such as glass, hardware, and paint were manufactured elsewhere.¹⁴⁷

In this way, artisans were the masters of design and style for the antebellum South.

But, instead of needing an educated, white Southern man, slaves were the creators and designers of the plantation homes that became the symbol of the white, wealthy South. Slaves often apprenticed under the “master builder” of a plantation for two to four years.¹⁴⁸ By apprenticing a slave, a white master gained a talented individual into his possession, and could then rent the slave to other masters who were building homes and needed an artisan to construct and design the building.¹⁴⁹ This made the slave more valuable because of his skillset, ranging from “the ordinary rough carpenter to the highly skilled house carpenter and joiner.”¹⁵⁰ Eventually, skilled artisans began to ask slave owners if they wanted to send any slaves to apprentice in order to learn a trade.¹⁵¹ As slaves continued to be the primary labor source for building plantation homes, slaves mastered carpentry, bricklaying, and other types of skilled artisanal labor. With these skills, trained slaves were in high demand. Due to the lack of transporting goods in the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁶ Bishir, *Southern Built: American Architecture, Regional Practice*, 71.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

early nineteenth century, slaves who could use their skills in carpentry in order to build suitable structures were in high demand because they could work off the land that the plantation offered in order to gather materials to build a home.¹⁵²

By the 1800s, the Greek Revival style had encompassed the world. Architects from Russia to America were copying the same ancient ruins of Greece.¹⁵³ The Greek Revival homes that were built in America represented more than fashion, they were also meant to represent the “nation’s democratic ideals and is popularly associated with the moonlight-and-magnolia myths of the Old South.”¹⁵⁴ Southern houses were visions of democracy, but they still relied on slave labor for their livelihood.

During the 1800s, Romantic styles became popular in America along with the Greek Revival style. Also known as the Gothic or Victorian style, this architecture was primarily influenced by “the cathedrals, castles, and manor houses of the Middle Ages.”¹⁵⁵ Over time, the Victorian style encompassed all architectural work of the 1800s, from Romantic style to Greek Revival.¹⁵⁶ But, the Civil War changed how Southerners viewed architecture. With its defeat, the South looked bitterly to the North as an enemy that ruined a region that was once wealthy and prosperous. Because of the large economic losses across the South, many prominent white, wealthy landowners were forced to sell or limit their spending. Even the North suffered economic losses after the Civil War, and in order to combat the effects in the home, Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe published a book entitled: *American Woman’s Home*. This book aimed to

¹⁵² Ibid., 74.

¹⁵³ Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, 177.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ “Early national and Romantic House Styles,” accessed January 29, 2016, <http://www.oldhouses.com/styleguide/romantic-houses.htm>.

¹⁵⁶ Sarah Burns, “Better for Haunts,” *American Art* 26 (2012): 4.

educate women in “the influences which make the home happy and attractive, which give it a constant and wholesome power over the young and contributes much to the education of the entire household in refinement, intellectual development, and moral sensibility.”¹⁵⁷ This book was for the middle to lower class families who wanted to learn the “art of appearance” by mimicking the styles of the upper classes.¹⁵⁸ For the South, class status was presented to the outsider by the appearance of the home, so women of the lower class worked to dress their home to look like they were in a higher class. But, even though these women tried to copy the upper classes, a reader of *American Woman’s Home* “was reminded that she was not an aristocrat but must try to decorate her home as if she were one.”¹⁵⁹ The wealthy Southern families that dominated the fashion industry set the standard for home decor and design because of their ability to influence the lower classes. So, while the Civil War devastated many families financially, appearances were still meant to be kept, which is why interior design manuals became popular literature for women.

Mills Lane, the author of *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, uses a nostalgic tone when discussing the homes of Southerners that had been destroyed or left to rot after the Civil War. For the South, “the Civil War and its bitter aftermath caused future Americans to forget, or deny, an invasion of Yankee talent and decades of harmonious cooperation between the regions that had helped create the society and architecture of the Old South.”¹⁶⁰ With economic despair gripping the South at the end of

¹⁵⁷ Catherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, “American Woman’s Home: Or Principles of Domestic Science,” Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6598/pg6598-images.html>.

¹⁵⁸ Janna Jones, “The Distance from Home: The Domestication of Desire in Interior Design Manuals,” *Journal of Social History* 31 (1997): 310.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 311.

¹⁶⁰ Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*, 315.

the Civil War, architecture and grand Southern homes fell to the wayside. Some distraught, once wealthy Southerners, were forced to sell their grand homes to Yankees in order to work off the debt the war caused.¹⁶¹ From the destruction and chaos that the war caused, Victorian homes were once the “height of fashion” and “the material symbol of affluence, elegance, and taste. Half a century later, however, that very same style had become a signifier of terror, death, and decay.”¹⁶² The “Brown Decades” after the Civil War led people away from the Victorian style because of the lack of young men that once lived inside the large, grand homes. Instead, the Victorian style after the Civil War represented “the absence of youth, the triumph of cynicism and disillusion, [and] infectious public vice and corruption.”¹⁶³ It is no surprise then that by the twentieth century, Southerners looked for inspiration in architecture from a time before the Civil War; they looked towards the antebellum period, with plantation homes and colonial houses.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Southerners started “revering antebellum buildings as survivors from a glorious past...[which] represented the renewed place of the vindicated South in the American mainstream, the rightness and patriotism of the Confederate cause, and the association of classical architecture with idealized southern virtues.”¹⁶⁴ Although plantation homes had gradually fell out of practical use due to the loss of free labor and the transition away from an agricultural economy, they remained in fashion. As Southerners attempted to redefine themselves, the start of the twentieth century led Southern politicians to reclaim Southern pride by harkening back to

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Burns, “Better for Haunts: Victorian Houses and the Modern Imagination,” 3.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 8.

¹⁶⁴ Bishir, *Southern Built: American Architecture, Regional Practice*, 255.

the Old South as the model for the New South.¹⁶⁵ The Jim Crow era in the South mirrored the creation of landmarks that paid tribute to the Old South. Landmarks celebrated old Southern heroes, and how these landmarks were structured celebrated the architecture as well. This led to the Greek Revival style, which is similar to the plantation style homes of the antebellum South, just without the land. Like the regression of architecture, interior design also looked to the past for influence.

In a time of Southern distress, the past presented itself as an ideal of harmonious living, which inspired the return to traditional Southern architecture practices.

This architecture shaped public memory of the past and defined the life of the present by asserting in ubiquitous physical form ‘the southern aristocracy’s continuing legitimate authority as the dominant force in the region’s political, social, and economic life.’ And, moving beyond mere glorification of a past epoch, this architecture perpetuated and revitalized for modern daily use the deferential social values of the heirs and heiresses of the glorified tradition.”¹⁶⁶

For the South, architecture after the Civil War became a way for the upper class Southerners, who disliked the way that society was progressing, to destabilize the power dynamic of the region, by continuing to extoll the virtues of the past. The return to Southern gentility as a model for society, as well as architecture, brought a sense of comfort and ease, something that had been missing since the antebellum period. Conveniently forgetting the pain and loss of the Civil War, Southerners looked to earlier times as motivation for the Southern lifestyle.

By 1920, “the colonial style enjoyed an all-out revival in domestic architecture, representing something pure, and purely American, rooted in the traditions of early (and

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 256.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 276.

infinitely more virtuous) American home life.”¹⁶⁷ Some owners of Victorian homes went as far as remodeling the exterior of the home in order to mimic the colonial style.¹⁶⁸

While the Victorian faded out of fashion, Greek Revival again brought forth grand images of the South, which Hollywood quickly put to use in movies such as *Gone with the Wind*. While the outside facade was regressing, the interior design of Southern homes was influenced by new, modern innovations such as the department store.¹⁶⁹ Because women were able to participate in activities outside of the home, such as shopping, department stores allowed women to learn “lessons of consumption and desire, gazing upon fashionable items for their families, their homes and themselves.”¹⁷⁰ But, while the department store did offer mass produced items to decorate, the wealthy, upper class Southerners focused on antiques to decorate. Antiques began to dominate the home, and family heirlooms became the prized possessions for decoration, but only the wealthy could afford these luxuries. For the wealthy, “interior decorating would be difficult yet rewarding precisely because the items that would complete their homes would *not* be readily available through catalogs and department stores, for they were scarce treasures.”¹⁷¹

Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, Southern homes have undergone multiple changes in order to compensate for the progressing fashion trends. Today, historic homes are now considered fashionable to restore and update with modern amenities. Although the exteriors retain their traditional Southern looks, the interiors are

¹⁶⁷ Burns, “Better for Haunts: Victorian Houses and the Modern Imagination,” 9.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Jones, “The Distance From Home: The Domestication of Desire in Interior Design Manuals,” 309.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 323.

being revamped with modern amenities and technologies. As a trendsetter for the South, *Southern Living* began a separate magazine line entitled *CLASSICS* in 1985, which aims to instruct the reader on traditional, Southern touches to add to the home. The goal of *CLASSICS* is to “provide insight into and appreciation of our gracious Southern lifestyle.”¹⁷² As the precursor to *Garden & Gun*, *Southern Living* gives the reader the tools needed in order to mimic traditional Southern style. This mimicking, or performance, of Southern identity is interesting because it only shows the upper class lifestyle of the South. *CLASSICS* is not a magazine that accurately depicts the South because it focuses only on the wealthy. By reading this magazine, the reader sees a false representation of the South, and it continues to create an image of the South in terms of a nostalgic past. Similar to *American Woman’s Home*, *Southern Living* instructs the reader on how to appear Southern, even if it is a false reality. In a sense, *CLASSICS* is a guidebook that gives outsiders a glimpse into what is presumed to be the traditional Southerners life, without any mention of poverty. *CLASSICS* fails to recognize racial tensions that were occurring in the South, and it also fails to show how racial inequality affected the wealth stratification of Southern classes. By cutting out the poor blacks, *CLASSICS* is showing the South only in terms of the white, upper class. Some of the houses that are idolized by the magazine are a “Romantic Restoration” or an “Intimate Yet Grand: A baronial mansion with a sense of coziness”.¹⁷³ These homes illustrate the white, Southern heritage that accompanies the owners of the home. Unlike the middle and lower classes, these Southerners are able to reconstruct their home to reflect the traditional Southern identity that they want to reflect to outsiders.

¹⁷² *Southern Living Classics*, Volume 1, (Birmingham, Ala.: Southern Living, Inc., 1985), 4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2.

Unlike the rest of the nation, which has surged into the present age with an acceptance of modern design, the South has retained a look of the past. The grandiose houses, plantation and Greek Revival, have kept the same “romantic” images that continue to circulate the South. As Southern homes continue to be updated, they “look much the same as they did in the nineteenth century.”¹⁷⁴ Because of the great influence that Europe played in the South, from architecture to interior design, the South has loyally continued to represent the images of the “Old World”, as compared to the rest of the United States.¹⁷⁵ In this way, the South has simply recycled interior design and antiques as a way to lay claim to wealth and prestige. By using the same outward façade, the magazine shows how the owners use the historic home as a way to preserve Southern building traditions of the Old South. It is in this way that *Garden & Gun* uses the home as a way to continue to instigate the traditional look of the South. But, at the same time *Garden & Gun* features these homes as a haven for the white, wealthy Southerners; any other race is missing from the home section of the 2014 editions of the magazine.

Section 2: The Old Meets the New: *Garden & Gun* Goes Home

In *Garden & Gun*, the homes presented are all products of white, affluent Southerners who have bought into the Southern tradition of the Old South: owning an antebellum home. But, these families lovingly recreate these homes as a way to escape the pressures of everyday life and retreat back to the home as a way to rejuvenate and relax in a place that is apart from the outside world. In this way, the updated traditional Southern home acts as a way for families to keep the same outward appearances, but update the interior to reflect a more contemporary lifestyle.

¹⁷⁴ *Southern Rooms: Interior Design from Miami to Houston*, (Gloucester, Mass.: Hi Marketing, 1999), 69.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Although new homes are constantly being created, the return to historic homes has created a stir amongst affluent Southerners. Returning to dilapidated plantation houses, Southerners have begun to reclaim history by renovating these grand old homes. *Garden & Gun* showcases these refurbished houses as the epitome of Southern grace and tradition that has transcended throughout the years. The homes that span the pages of the magazine show loving devotion to preserving history, which is why these historic homes have survived in this day and age. Even though the outside may still retain its original facade, the interior is filled with modern amenities and an updated style that reflects the times. But, by opening up the interior through open floor plans and large added spaces, these homes are no longer considered a traditional Southern antebellum home. Instead, these homes only pretend to be a part of the past, the interiors are so altered and changed that the homes become a way for a family to retain class status through the owning of a historic home, but by adding rooms and opening up the living space, these homes become a part of modern style.

Unlike the cooking sections of *Garden & Gun*, which extoll racial inclusion, the home section of the magazine only presents the reader with historic antebellum homes owned by white families. Although black cooks, bartenders, hunters, musicians, and more flood the pages of *Garden & Gun*, the luxurious Southern home is still seen as a white's haven. This exclusion of race creates a contradiction in the magazine, because instead of showing the true South, *Garden & Gun* is only showing the white South. There are black families that own historic Southern homes, so why does *Garden & Gun* leave them out? These antebellum homes are a product of slavery, which makes it interesting that the magazine only presents white families that own them. This could be a subtly illustration

to the reader that these antebellum plantation homes are meant to be owned by white families, not black. By omitting race, the magazine is creating more spaces of silence, where the reader is left wondering why *Garden & Gun* only shows racial equality in the food sections, but not the home. While the magazine is trying to be modern, it is unable to showcase black families in the same way that it does for the white families. In this way, it is evident that the South still struggles with racial inequality, maybe not to the extent of the 1960s, but there is still room for improvement.

These articles in the 2014 *Garden & Gun* issues I have presented focus on white families with grown children and grandchildren. The homes presented are antebellum plantation houses that have been remodeled by the owners as their own family home. The Southern family and traditions of the home (from comfort food to storytelling) allow the individual to reconnect to what is important in life: family, friends, and a good time. In this context, *Garden & Gun* presents the home as a way to come back to reality, away from the stresses of work and the outside world. In one example, *Garden & Gun* uses two sisters and their best friend as a way to show that the outside world isn't better than the agrarian South; instead, they hold up a simpler way of life as one of the cures to unhappiness that lives in the modern era. *Garden & Gun* isn't necessarily telling the reader that in order to be happy they must return to the land and leave behind modern amenities, but they show the reader that sometimes the traditional way of doing things creates a happier person by focusing on how the owners of these home have bettered their lives by returning to the agrarian South, complete with land and large historic homes. One example of this is the Nicely sisters. These women that run their farm, Riverplains, have finally found happiness in the world by returning to the agrarian South.

In the August/September 2014 issue, *Garden & Gun* introduces the reader to Jennifer and Anna Nicely, and their best friend Misty Travis Oaks. These three women have spurned the modern way of life in favor of the traditional, agrarian Southern lifestyle that has allowed them to reconnect to the past and, in turn, has given them purpose and happiness. By returning home, the Nicely sisters and Travis Oaks have shown that the past is still a safe haven from the troubles of the outside world. *Garden & Gun*, by featuring the Nicely sisters and Travis Oaks, shows how the magazine values agrarian lifestyles, something that is often attributed to the Old South. But, while the Nicely sisters are actually agrarian because they farm the land, *Garden & Gun* misuses the term “agrarian” by also attributing it to people who live on large plots of land.¹⁷⁶ But because the Nicely sisters were raised on a farm, their return home illustrates how the magazine connects happiness with the land.

In 2010, Anna Nicely returned to her family owned farm, Riverplains, after her husband suffered a bout with colitis. Later, she was joined by her sister Jennifer Nicely and Misty Travis Oaks, both of whom struggled to find happiness and meaning in the fast paced outside world. Riverplains, located outside of Knoxville, has been in the Nicely family for generations.

The farm covers more than four hundred rolling acres, which hug both banks of the Holston river, and has remained so unaltered over the ages that the narrows still hold a primitive fish trap one visiting archaeologist dated back to the 1500s...and yet there it sits as if frozen in some sort of Southern amber, a literal touchstone offering hope that no matter how

¹⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that Thomas Jefferson first made the distinction that being “agrarian” was the best thing for Americans. But, being an agrarian is defined as someone who farms the land. Jefferson contradicts this definition because he never farmed the land, instead he owned slaves who farmed the land for him. This contradictory notion of the term “agrarian” continues today, with people who live on land considering themselves agrarian, but only people who farm the land can be considered agrarian. In this instance, the Nicely sisters are agrarian because they are actually farming the land.

messed up modern life becomes, there will always be pockets of the past we cannot destroy.¹⁷⁷

This excerpt illustrates how *Garden & Gun* views the past with an almost worship-like tone. It idolizes this place that has held onto the traditions of the Old South and sees it as a place that offers “hope”, unlike the modern world. It is in this theme that the Nicely sisters and Travis Oaks venture out into the real world, only to realize that the only place they want to be is home.

For the sisters, being home again allowed them to feel like they were “connected to something real.”¹⁷⁸ This quote, taken from Jennifer Nicely, illustrates the type of language that the sisters use in regards to the farm and the agrarian South. In this sense, what is “real” for Jennifer Nicely is a Southern agrarian lifestyle as opposed to a “some club in East Nashville.”¹⁷⁹ Likewise, when the Nicely sisters returned to the land, they also did away with the modern technologies that had been added onto the farm. Instead of using genetically modified corn, the sisters tried open-pollinated Hickory Cane, a type of corn that isn’t typically grown because of its “low-yield” compared to the genetically modified corn crops.¹⁸⁰ As the sisters created a stronger foothold in how the farm was run, they had to convince their father that regressing back to previous agriculture methods was worth the risk. Eventually, their father agreed to go away from the “acceptance of Big Agra to becoming an heirloom preservationist”, and the change has enabled the farm to become even more successful with local chefs and even a craft whiskey distillery, Knox Whiskey Works.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Allison Glock, “Back to the Land,” *Garden & Gun*, August/September 2014, 96.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 98.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

In this way, *Garden & Gun* introduces the subject of the home as a way to escape from the outside world. The Nicely sisters and Travis Oaks represent the ability to go home and start fresh, back where life began. Jennifer Nicely sums up the transition from the modern world back to the traditions of the Southern home by saying: “I can cast back and say, when I moved here, the land was being mistreated, it was toxic, and now it is being turned around...I know, I know. It’s a metaphor for my life.”¹⁸² Again, the language that is used here holds a nostalgic longing for things of the past in the South. By comparing her struggle to find meaning and a healthy lifestyle with the return to her family farm, Jennifer Nicely is explicitly stating that the Southern way of life is better. It is in this sense that the audience can read *Garden & Gun*’s home section as a way to get back to what life is really all about, and this starts in the home.

In the April/May 2014 edition, *Garden & Gun* showcases a Tennessee home that has been bought and given a new life. This home was built in the Greek Revival style in 1855, and is a “century farm”, or a farm “that has been continuously worked by the same extended family for more than a hundred years.”¹⁸³ Settled on a large piece of property, the Greek Revival manor is made with white boards, complete with black shutters and three large, brick chimneys. Four white columns stand erect at the front of the house, and an open porch resides at the back. On the side of the house, one can glimpse the new, modern addition that owners, Bob Doyle and Alex Von Hoffmann, have added. This is an example of how the owners have made this historic home a new house because of the addition, which is not in the traditional style.

¹⁸² Ibid., 101.

¹⁸³ Logan Ward, “Joint Venture,” *Garden & Gun*, April/May 2014, 60.

Eluded to, but not pictured, is a graveyard that is home to the “original proprietors, farmers who had received the land through a grant in the 1700s.”¹⁸⁴ The land and the Greek Revival manor that still stand are a testament to the ways of the Old South, complete with a traditional home and a history that spans centuries. *Garden & Gun* eerily foreshadows the importance of the past by stating that the ghosts “would bear witness to whatever changes the new owners made.”¹⁸⁵ This is both a threat and a promise, the Old South is still very much a part of the modern times. Had the new owners decided to destroy the original manor and rebuild, the audience is to presume that the ghosts would forever haunt the people who destroyed a piece of the past. Historian Sarah Burns, in her research of gothic homes, has noticed that after the Civil War, Americans “condemned all things of the later Victorian epoch as ugly, excessive, and un-America.”¹⁸⁶ But, today these houses are seen as markers of the past that need to be saved and are still valued. Burns discusses that these houses have an “iconic status and ubiquitous offspring in the popular realm testify to our persistent fascination with the perversities of the American home and the dark side of everything within.”¹⁸⁷ In this way, the graveyard becomes not only a creepy addition to the house, but it also stands to show how the house has progressed to today, but still contains aspects of the past. Instead of destroying the cemetery, the new owners restored the Greek Revival manor, and it is the epitome of a grand Southern home that has been brought back to life.

The new owners, a couple from Nashville, purchased the home and began to renovate the manor. Instead of redesigning and getting rid of the old style, Doyle and von

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Burns, “Better for Haunts,” 6.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 23.

Hoffmann hired local contractors and began to “restore the 6,500-square-foot home’s original floors, hand-planed millwork, and brick chimneys.”¹⁸⁸ But, they also decided to add a 4,800-square-foot addition that was more modern, but it was built in the same Greek Revival style as the manor, which allows it to “preserve the home’s character while strengthening its foothold for the future.”¹⁸⁹ This is important, because it shows how *Garden & Gun* believes that the past is not stagnant, it can be added onto and refurbished in order to complement the present. Doyle said, ““you have to care and respect the past, but at the same time you move forward.””¹⁹⁰ In this sense, the home is getting a facelift but is brought back to its original glory. Without the influence of the 1800s, this home would lose a sense of time and tradition that is vital to the modern South. This renovation allows the family to have the comforts of modern technology, but it still enables them to be able to go back to an old house, a house with a sense of tradition, and this creates an escape from the rest of the world.

The architect who helped bring this Greek Revival manor back to life and create an addition was Jane Sachs, a “principal in the New York firm HS2 Architecture.”¹⁹¹ While the house was in disrepair, it did not present a large problem for Sachs, who quickly knew the goals of the renovation: “preserve history, which they did by restoring the original house and reusing antique lumber from unsalvageable outbuildings for new millwork throughout.”¹⁹² But, on the new addition, Sachs used modern touches, such as “horizontal trellis boards and cable porch railings and a beautifully simple balcony

¹⁸⁸ Ward, “Joint Venture,” 60.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 62.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 60.

¹⁹² Ibid., 62.

sheltered by an unsupported roof corner.”¹⁹³ These new additions, instead of hindering the preserved manor, bring life to the new home by creating a harmony between the past and the present. But, this means that the house is no longer a preservation of the past, instead it is being reworked and brought into the current era.

On the interior, the home effortlessly flows from the old to the new, with the use of “high ceilings, tall divided-light windows...and rich hardwoods” that influenced the design of the new section of the home.¹⁹⁴ During renovation, Sachs discovered the original walls of the foundation, which were “hand-hewn stud walls, which were mostly joined by wooden pegs rather than nails.”¹⁹⁵ As a tribute to past architecture, the original stud wall remains uncovered by plaster or boards, and instead is homage to the past. It currently displays other older relics of the home, such as nails and Indian arrowheads.¹⁹⁶ Sachs seamlessly allows past to stand triumphantly in the present setting by showcasing the original architecture and antiques. In this way, the modern technologies are an important part because today they are a necessity of life (from indoor plumbing to air conditioning), but they are not the center of attention. Instead these modern technologies remain hidden, and are stated only in passing. This is important because it illustrates that the past traditions, from architecture to interior design, play a bigger role in making this Greek Revival manor a home. Because of the history of the home, Doyle and von Hoffmann have brought an Old Southern house to the present without losing its ties to tradition.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 64,

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

Another example of a house that has undergone a makeover is in the October/November 2014 issue of *Garden & Gun*. Built in 1879 as “a summer escape from the swampy heat of downtown Savannah” this two story historic home has been rejuvenated by Bill and Nancy Fuqua.¹⁹⁷ By saying that the house used to be a summer escape, *Garden & Gun* is subtly telling the reader that the first owners of the house were wealthy Southerners because of their ability to have a house in the country. The house is painted a light tan color, complete with white trim and black shutters. The two story covered porch has a Tiffany blue ceiling, which can be traced back to Southern myth.¹⁹⁸ Historians today attribute two common beliefs as to why Southern porch ceilings are painted blue: haints and insects.¹⁹⁹ Haints are restless spirits who have not yet moved on to the next world, so Southern home owners believed that by painting their porch ceilings “haint blue”, they would be protected from the evil spirits.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, some historians trace the blue ceilings back to an insect repellent. Some Southerners believed that the blue ceiling would confuse the insects, making them think that the sky was above them, so that they would not nest on the ceiling.²⁰¹ Today, scientific reasoning deduces that blue ceilings could be an insect repellent, but not because they look like the sky:

When blue paints were first used on ceilings, they were usually milk paints, and those paints often had lye mixed into the composition. Lye is a known insect repellent, which would explain why insects would avoid nesting on a painted porch ceiling or ledge. As milk paint has a tendency to fade over time, giving it a rustic look, people would usually need to

¹⁹⁷ Haskell Harris, “The River House,” *Garden & Gun*, October/November 2014, 76.

¹⁹⁸ “The Whys Behind the Blue Porch Ceiling,” Sherwin-Williams, accessed January 28, 2016. <https://www.sherwin-williams.com/architects-specifiers-designers/inspiration/styles-and-techniques/sw-article-pro-thewhysbehind.html>.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

repaint their home every year or few years, covering the existing coat with a new coat of paint, and fresh lye.²⁰²

The traditional looking Southern home entered into the Fuqua family because of Bill's devotion to restoring antebellum homes. He grew up in an "antebellum Greek Revival called Advance and Retreat...his parents restored the house room by room throughout his childhood."²⁰³ The name of Fuqua's childhood home is reminder of the Civil War battle tactics used by both sides, to advance forward and attack the enemy, and then to retreat before the enemy can retaliate. Therefore, the house called Advance and Retreat is a symbol for the continuing struggle between North and South for power. Growing up with a fondness for Southern homes inspired Bill Fuqua to tackle this dilapidated home. Although it was structurally sound, previous owners had created unwanted additions and painted over some of the original woodwork. The home also "was surrounded by a tangle of foliage and sagging power lines, and trees grew up right against the front of the porch, blocking the views."²⁰⁴ The modern world had intruded on this historic home, and it had lost some of its grandeur. In order to preserve the house, the Fuqua's got rid of the excess foliage in order to open up "views, breezes, and natural light."²⁰⁵ When it was originally built, the home would have relied on the porches as a place to welcome the breeze that would cool off the humidity.

For the interior, Nancy Fuqua worked with Savannah interior designers in order to bring comfort to the home. Mary Brooke Leigh and Lea Anne Wallace, the designers, "introduced a color palette that referenced the soothing hues of the march and the

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Harris, "The River House," 76.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

river.”²⁰⁶ The soft colors and welcoming environment create a home that has both history and comfort. While the Fuquas’ wanted a home that had a past, they wanted it to be able to create new memories as well. ““We’re more interested in the memories than the house- -it just happens that this is a great house to create them in,”” said Nancy Fuqua. This is the epitome of *Garden & Gun*’s presentation of the purpose behind renovating Southern homes. The past, although it may be scarred by troubles, holds good traditions and memories as well. In this way, the South is still able to retain some aspects of what sets it apart from other regions. The home still retains the symbolic pride of the past and allows Southern families to have an escape from a world that has different values.

It is in this sense that *Garden & Gun* teaches its reader how to have the best of the past and the present. Historic homes can be brought into the present with classic updates, contemporary style, and showcase the family’s passions. The Nicely sisters, by returning to home, illustrate how important the home is for happiness. Although they left the home in order to find happiness, the Nicely sisters realized that in order to achieve a sense of purpose and meaning in life, they needed to reconnect to their home as well as to the land. Riverplains is therefore an example of a true Southern agrarian home. But, *Garden & Gun* isn’t telling all of its readers to return their childhood homes, instead this story shows readers that a healthy, happy home life is important in order to be successful. The homes that *Garden & Gun* showcases are all family homes that show how the owners have reworked the Old South into the new South in order to reach happiness. But, while *Garden & Gun* presents many different examples of Southern homes throughout its history as a magazine, in 2014 no black families were pictured in the homes section. The

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

Southern homes presented by *Garden & Gun* focus on white and affluent families, which are the major figures of the region that are presented to the outside world.

Chapter 3: Grab Your Guns! *Garden & Gun* Takes a Shot at Southern Sporting

Section 1: History of Hunting as a Leisure Sport

In the South today, hunting has become a typical leisure pastime. Although hunters may eat the game they kill, hunting is not for the necessity of food: it is for leisure. Hunting has become an industry that is akin to the South because of the availability of game and land. Post-Civil War, the South focused on hunting as a way to distinguish class. White, upper class hunters relied on hunting as a way to show their gentility, a trope that was adopted from Europe. In order to illustrate their wealth, white Southerners used hunting as a leisure activity by showing that they not only had the money to hunt, they also had the time. In this section, I will outline how the South has envisioned hunting as a way to relax and reconnect with the land in the South.

Through his research in leisure theory, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu explains that “leisure settings, rather than sites of economic production, were the central context for the perpetuation of social inequality and stratification.”²⁰⁷ Bourdieu uses habitus, capital, and field in order to show how leisure activities become a way to gain standing in society. Habitus is “an expression of an individuals’ social status as well as their historical position in the social context.”²⁰⁸ In the United States, class standing has created different types of hunting, such as hunting for sport or hunting for gentility. The focus of this section will be on leisure hunting, which is for the wealthy and elite to

²⁰⁷ Kangjae Jerry Lee, Rudy Dunlap, and Michael B. Edwards, "The Implication of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice for Leisure Studies," *Leisure Sciences* 36 (2014): 315

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 316.

pursue a gentleman's sport, which further bolsters Bourdieu's theory that money sets classes apart in all aspects of life, from economy to leisure. In *Garden & Gun*, the white, wealthy Southerners are the only ones represented as hunters, and this further illustrates how Bourdieu's theory on habitus is reinforced.

Capital, as explained by Bourdieu, is divided into four categories: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic.²⁰⁹ These four categories work together in order to give the individual not only monetary gains, but also skill and class connections, based on an individual's standing in society. For *Garden & Gun*, capital is seen in the different types of advertisements for destinations that the magazine presents to the reader. All of the hunting lodges or resorts shown are aimed at the upper classes because of the money needed to pay for a room, as well as for lessons from the best marksmen in the world. Finally, Bourdieu's definition of field is "the structure of the social spaces where habitus is formed, capitals are distributed, and their values are determined."²¹⁰ *Garden & Gun* only shows the best and most secluded types of field in the magazine in order to show how exclusive the hunting realm can be. This illustrates that Bourdieu's theory of leisure is interrelated to an individuals' standing in society, which affects how they succeeded in leisure activities, such as hunting. Although anyone who has access to a gun and game can go hunting, only the wealthy are able to hunt in a way that sets them apart from the rest because of their access to elite social circles. It is important to note that Bourdieu's theory of leisure can be applied to the nineteenth century as well the twenty-first century. As hunting became accessible to more people, class status and wealth were used to

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 317.

separate hunting for sport as opposed to hunting for sustenance. For the American South, the Civil War marked a turning point for hunting.

Before the Civil War, hunting had multiple functions: to feed a family (both white and slave) and to show off skills and wealth. This is when hunting began to delineate from traditional needs to a leisure activity. In the antebellum South, white, wealthy masters used slaves in order to show off their wealth. Without having to work the fields, Southern white masters were able to devote themselves to leisure activities, paid for by the labor of the slaves they owned. One of the things that white Southern men and women began to do was hunting for leisure, which in England was a sign of gentility:

English game laws, advocated by elites as early as the fourteenth century, for example, codified legal hunting as a leisure activity, stripped of much of its productive character, while peasants asserted their ancient rights to exploit the forests according to their traditional productive practices. In the United States, the progressive era conservation movement pitted urban sportsmen seeking ‘civilised’ recreation against profit-seeking market hunters, as well as ‘primitive’ rural subsistence hunters. In all these cases, rival factions classified their hunting practices as more or less productive, more or less recreational, more or less modern and more or less natural. It was on this basis that they asserted their competing claims to authentic hunting.²¹¹

Hunting as a leisure activity “reflected Southerners’ aspirations and reinforced their identities” because of the “established sporting codes carried over from European aristocracy.”²¹² Southerners aspired for class distinction and rank amongst their peers. By copying English aristocracy’s hunting practices, Southerners were able to mimic European class distinctions based on hunting practices. One of the ways to mark themselves as separate from the lower classes was to allow slaves to hunt. While this may

²¹¹ Andrea L. Smalley, “‘I Just Like to Kill Things’: Women, Men and the Gender of Sport Hunting in the United States, 1940–1973,” *Gender & History* 17 (2005): 185

²¹² Scott E. Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the Few South: black labor and white leisure after the Civil War*, (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 2.

seem contradictory, it showcased the white masters ability to hunt for fun, while the slave was hunting in order to survive. In this way, the masters were able to juxtapose themselves against the slaves in their hunting practices. “For slaves, hunting and fishing had long been critically important customary activities that strengthened their nutritional and material condition, provided food, money, and material goods, and gave them valuable time for family and community camaraderie,” writes Scott E. Giltner, a Southern historian²¹³. But, slaves were not allowed to hunt all animals, only “‘darkey game--the ‘coon, the rabbit, and the ‘possum.’”²¹⁴ This allowed the white masters to save the best meat and sport for themselves, and it continued to reinforce the class barrier between white and black by only allowing slaves to eat lower ranking animals. In this way, the South was able to create class barriers based on who was shooting what, and why.

Beginning in the 1830s, technological advances in firearms “greatly increased the amount of fish and game consumed.”²¹⁵ These weapons allowed hunters to have “greater accuracy, longer range of fire, and shorter loading intervals.”²¹⁶ By the 1850s, steamboat and train transportation brought more people closer to hunting land, which allowed for an increase in hunting for leisure. With these increases in technology, “the slaughter of fish and game continued apace”, which led to concern amongst the upper, white Southern classes because it threatened their sport.²¹⁷ With more and more visitors coming to the South in order to hunt, game was quickly disappearing.

²¹³ Ibid., 13.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 52.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 48.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

Southerners found multiple problems that could account for the loss of game. With the new ease of travel, Southerners blamed Northerners for entering the region and making “shooting a duty rather than a pastime.”²¹⁸ Instead of respecting the land, Northerners would shoot for days at a time and then take the animals they killed home on ice, taking way more than was needed for sustenance or for trophy.²¹⁹ Then, after the Civil War, white Southerners blamed the newly freed slaves for the loss of game because black men were legally allowed to own rifles, something that had previously been outlawed.²²⁰ A surplus of weapons after the Civil War meant that guns were cheaper than ever before, so more and more African Americans were able to own a gun, meaning that they had endless opportunities to hunt. After the Civil War “freed slaves made firearms both a powerful symbol and an immediate priority of liberation.”²²¹ Without restrictions on gun ownership, as well as the ability to shoot whatever game they wished, freed slaves took to hunting with a zeal intended to show their old white masters that they too could now hunt. “Inadequate fish and game legislation was another culprit” that Southerners battled while trying to protect their sporting privileges.²²² The legislation was not enough to combat the flood of people who were now able to hunt the land freely, so white Southern elites began to form hunting clubs that bought land and restricted its use to members only.²²³ Naturally, these clubs were white only, and thus led to further entrenching of racial barriers. By creating exclusivist clubs, white Southerners were able to garner “social capital”, which is described as “an individual’s access to resources via

²¹⁸ Ibid., 49.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid., 52.

²²² Ibid., 49.

²²³ Ibid.

participation in social networking”, as explained by Bourdieu.²²⁴ In this way, white Southerners were further entrenching their social power by forming these clubs. Through the formation of clubs, white Southerners created a domain that became valuable “only to the extent that it is exclusive.”²²⁵

These clubs created hunting codes that quickly spread throughout the South for white men of class. The hunting codes were intended for “‘a thorough-going businessman,’ ‘a votary of art and science,’ possessed of ‘a love for the true and beautiful,’ a ‘lover of fair play,’ and a ‘gentleman.’”²²⁶ In this sense, only the wealthy, white Southerner could be considered a true sportsman because he did not rely on hunting in order to feed or finance his family.

As many scholars have demonstrated, the sporting codes transmitted in print in the late nineteenth century--created by and for and upheld by those who could afford to uphold them--became inherently and intentionally exclusionary. Elite sportsmen thus worked to completely exclude lesser persons such as immigrants, poor whites, Native Americans, and African Americans.²²⁷

It is in this regard that hunting as a leisure sport took off. The end of the Civil War marked the end of the Old South, and white, wealthy Southerners felt this grief at the end of an era as a sign that they needed to form class distinctions that would retain some resemblance of the traditional society. Here, hunting became a way to recreate the South in a way that mirrored the antebellum period. These elite, white Southerners were hunting for the sake of the sport; to retain a connection with nature and the ability to distinguish class based on the gentlemanly way an upper class Southerner could hunt.

²²⁴ Lee, Dunlap, and Edwards, “The Implication of Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice for Leisure Activities,” 315.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Giltner, *Hunting and Fishing in the New South*, 54.

²²⁷ Ibid., 55.

But, white, elite Southern hunters did not want all blacks barred from hunting. In order to further engrain the image of the Old South on post-Civil War leisure hunting, white Southerners would hire black men to work for them in the field: setting up campsites, serving food, and working in the field to aid the hunters. In this way, hunting as a leisure activity after the end of slavery “provided a strategy for reclaiming lost control.”²²⁸ By “having black subordinates in the field,” white hunters were able to return “to a mythical era of aristocratic sport and racial control and projected to the world...a solution for the South’s ‘Negro problem.’”²²⁹ While Southern elites saw black labor in hunting as a way to relive the traditions of the Old South, blacks were able to make a healthy living and profit from the work. By working for hunting resorts in the South, “the presence of rural blacks [became] an indispensable part of the Southern sporting experience”, thus continuing the interrelationships between black and white, wealthy and poor.

Although wealthy, white Southern men did not want African Americans or lower classes to hunt, they did encourage wealthy, white women to hunt alongside them; “in fact, women’s presence could even enhance the manliness of the sport by infusing it with restraint and respectability.”²³⁰ Instead of fearing that women would lessen the value of leisure hunting, Southern white men saw women who hunt as a way to show class in the field. With women present, men were on their best behavior because they were trying to show off their skills as proper gentlemen. Throughout the nineteenth century, white, upper class men and women in the South continued to hunt alongside one another. These excursions were considered normal, and gender roles seemed to disappear in the hunting

²²⁸ Ibid., 80.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Smalley, “I Just Like to Kill Things,” 184.

realm. The rise of leisure magazines that focused on hunting as a leisure sport appeared in the late nineteenth century. *Forest and Stream* was created in 1873, and it featured writings by women hunters as well as men.²³¹ This magazine told its readers that hunting was a leisure sport that was a “genteel recreation” for both men and women.²³² By the 1890s, more outdoor magazines appeared, such as *Field and Stream* and *Outdoor Life*; some of these magazines even had female editors and regular contributors.²³³ Although nineteenth century ideals believed that women were less equal than men, these outdoor magazines said that women were just as good as men in the hunting sphere. In 1894, an article appeared in *Forest and Stream* that said: “there was ‘no good reason why there should not be as many and as good sportswomen as there are sportsmen.’”²³⁴ This does not mean that male hunters saw women as their equals in all aspects of life, simply equal as hunters.²³⁵

But, after World War I, leisure magazines and hunters changed their stance on women as hunters. While these wealthy white men had never accepted lower classes to participate in hunting, they had included women. With the beginning of the twentieth century, outdoor magazines continued to rise in popularity, and eventually hunting became an accepted leisure sport.²³⁶ “Game-law reform campaigns initiated by conservationists, and championed in sportsmen’s journals, had largely succeeded in establishing legitimate hunting as a sport in the first decades of the twentieth century. Therefore, women’s participation was no longer required to mark hunting as respectable

²³¹ Ibid., 187.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid., 188.

²³⁵ Ibid., 189.

²³⁶ Ibid.

leisure”, so these magazines no longer focused on women or encouraged their hunting.²³⁷

But, by becoming more exclusionary, these magazines lost readers and started to decline in the beginning of the 1900s.²³⁸ So, outdoor magazines began to try to broaden their readership and become more relatable to more people.

By the end of World War II, hunting had changed to become a male only domain, but it also became less class conscious.

Class-based definitions of hunting declined, while higher wages, increased leisure time, the proliferation of automobiles and the expansion of public lands provided working-class hunters with easier access to fields and forests.²³⁹

In this way, the hunting field became the “surrogate” for the battlefield.²⁴⁰

Outdoor magazines successfully connected militarism to hunting by using articles and representations of masculinity to encourage men to hunt. For men, hunting allowed them to be always at the ready in case of an attack from the enemy. By honing their skills on the hunting field, men would be ready for battle.²⁴¹

With this change in hunting, magazines began to appeal to its audience by saying that anyone who owned a gun or had access to one could become a hunter. Hunting rhetoric shifted away from the genteel and upper classes to instead include all males. “Broadening the definition of ‘sportsmen’ during wartime corresponded with an expected rise in the number of hunters in the post-war decades,” which increased the circulation of

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., 190.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 191.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

outdoor periodicals.²⁴² Along with the GI Bill, the government granted veterans cheap or free hunting licenses, which allowed for an increase in men who could afford to hunt.²⁴³ After fighting a blood war, Americans became fanatic about men retaining masculinity, which further isolated hunting from the genteel. Men should be able to handle guns and act aggressively in the hunting field, having women around them would only lead to the downfall of masculinity many outdoor magazines argued. This does not mean that women were no longer in these magazines, instead their roles changed from elite huntress to sexualized property.²⁴⁴ By illustrating sexuality in the hunting field, these passive women were able to allow men to feel more masculine by tying their aggression to their sexual drive.

In these magazines, women no longer enjoyed hunting, instead they began to voice different opinions of hunting, such as in *Field and Stream*, where a hunter wrote in and quoted his wife as saying: ““I don’t understand what enjoyment you two get from tramping around all over the country just to shoot a few birds.””²⁴⁵ In this way, women were further delegated to the home sphere because they no longer enjoyed being in nature, at least according to these magazines.

White male writers who had more symbolic capital in the field of recreational hunting exercised symbolic violence to exclude women and people of color from recreational hunting. They arbitrarily constructed women and African Americans as inauthentic and illegitimate hunters in order to maintain their superior position in the field of recreational hunting. Militarism and racism were two ideological contexts that justified this discriminatory practice (Stewart, Parry, & Glover, 2008). Women and African Americans rarely recognized the arbitrariness and historical contingency of such portrayals and readily accepted their subjugated position as common

²⁴² Ibid., 192.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 193.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

sense. As a result, the cultural construction of hunting as an activity for White men has been normalized without encountering significant resistance.²⁴⁶

By cutting out women and African Americans, and making hunting a homosocial environment, white men were able to use hunting as a way to create a leisure sport that defined itself in opposition to race and gender.

In this way, hunting has oscillated from a genteel sport to a common leisure activity because of these outdoor magazines. Starting in the mid 1800s, outdoor magazines aimed to separate the classes through hunting, but it did allow for women to participate. By the end of World War II, hunting had become a leisure activity for anyone who owned a gun, except women. The restrictions placed on leisure hunting have increased into the twenty-first century, but not through class, instead it is based on race and gender. While class barriers may still exist in hunting, they no longer legally inhibit lower classes to participate; “for example, 13.7 million Americans participated in hunting in 2011, and the overwhelming majority of those hunters were men (89%), and Whites (94%).”²⁴⁷ But, wealthy, white Southerners still use hunting as a way to distinguish gentility. In the twenty-first century, differing ideals of hunting still exist, but *Garden & Gun* regresses back to the nineteenth century by representing hunting as a genteel leisure sport that is available for both men and women, but only if they can afford the destinations, guides, and tools.

Section 2: Hunting in *Garden & Gun*—Gentility Sporting

Garden & Gun allows hunting to regress back to the nineteenth century in order to appeal to Southern gentility. Because the South is linked to European heritage, the

²⁴⁶ Lee, Dunlap, and Edwards, “The Implications of Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice for Leisure Studies,” 319.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 318.

wealthy, white upper classes focus on presenting an image of gentility that is akin to Europe. While the United States mimicked hunting practices throughout the 1800s, especially in regards to gender, *Garden & Gun* is encouraging its readers to return back to this genteel, leisure sport. Throughout its pages, *Garden & Gun* represents men and women in the hunting section; ranging from onlookers to experts, women are able to participate in this arena. Instead of focusing on hunting as every man's sport, *Garden & Gun* presents hunting as a leisure sport that is exclusive to the upper, white classes who can afford it. Instead of overtly saying this, *Garden & Gun* only alludes to this distinction by only showing specific images of wealthy people clad in expensive gear and avoiding anyone who could be considered a redneck.

While gender equality is presented in the hunting sections, there are no representations of blacks or other minorities. In this way, *Garden & Gun* regresses back to the past in order to encourage the reader to treat hunting as a gentleman's sport that is above the common hunter. Although this representation of hunting is similar to previous practices, *Garden & Gun* is representing the South as re-emerging through a regression to older leisure hunting practices. By showing that the South is in transition, *Garden & Gun* is showing that the South is open to progress, but at the same time still looks to the past for inspiration in class distinctions in some realms of the magazine, such as hunting. Although this is not a "modern" idea, *Garden & Gun* brings it to the twenty-first century South in order to instruct the reader on how to act in accordance with Southern gentility today. But, this use of hunting leaves out any race other than white, which illustrates that the magazine continues to oscillate between modern ideals and traditional representations.

In order to hunt, the first thing needed is a gun.²⁴⁸ *Garden & Gun* encourages women to hunt, which is similar to nineteenth-century outdoor magazines that also enticed women to become hunters. *Garden & Gun* advises the reader to notice that more women are participating in hunting, which means a new market has opened for gun manufacturers. “Female shooters mostly had to make do with shotguns built for their bigger male counterparts. That’s changing.”²⁴⁹ In this article, *Garden & Gun* is encouraging women to take up shooting as a serious leisure sport. The guns presented in this section:

Forgot the honky-tonk, cupcake pink that sometimes characterizes other women’s firearms for oil-finished walnut and fine engravings. More important, they’re made to fit a woman’s body. Though it’s taken some time, shotgun makers are wising up to a growing market.²⁵⁰

Garden & Gun aims sections of their articles and advertisements at women because a typical gun is created for a man, “who stands five foot nine, weighs 165 pounds, and wears a size 40 regular with a 33-inch arm length”, women’s shotguns give female shooters better leverage, and also more confidence. Shotgun instructor Elizabeth Lanier, the creator of Girls Really Into Shooting [GRITS], believes that having a gun that fits the female body will encourage more women to want to shoot. “Shooting a shotgun that fits well is like wearing a great pair of stilettos,” said Lanier.²⁵¹ While she is encouraging women to participate in hunting and target shooting, Lanier is also equating

²⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that the 2014 issues of *Garden & Gun* do not address gun rights in the United States. The magazine fails to comment on the issue of guns and violence that are prevalent in today’s society. This lack of recognition stems from the magazine’s unwillingness to comment on politics. Instead, *Garden & Gun* only shows guns in the hunting realm, and makes no comment on conceal carry weapons or gun availability restrictions. This allows the magazine to focus on hunting as a fun sport, while ignoring the potential for violent crime to be committed with the same gun.

²⁴⁹ Irwin Greenstein, “Perfect Fit,” *Garden & Gun*, December 2014/January 2015, 42.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

shooting with femininity. This allows the reader to see hunting as sexy for women, like wearing a pair of heels. Like nineteenth century leisure hunting, *Garden & Gun* is illustrating to the reader that hunting is acceptable for women because it can be seen as feminine.

Even the descriptions of the women's guns are fashionable. The "haute couture" of Fausti, a gun manufacturer run by three sisters, includes rose engravings and "a filigree woman's head on the top lever."²⁵² The Fausti DEA SL Lady Edition is a gun that is "at home on any Southern plantation or British shooting estate."²⁵³ Once again, *Garden & Gun* is comparing the wealthy South to genteel England, a combination that appears across all sections of the magazine. But, this gun is being present to women differently than to men. A gun that was being advertised to men would not have this sort of description; it would lack the rose engravings and the couture that the women's shotgun is given. This shows how *Garden & Gun* is trying to appeal to female shooters by making the guns seem fashionable.

After the reader purchases a gun, *Garden & Gun* offers luxurious travel destinations for the hunter, equipped with expert guides to teach the art of leisure hunting. These guides aren't just there to guide the hunter or fisher; instead they also "enjoy helping clients experience local culture and color."²⁵⁴ The eleven guides presented in this spread are either hunters or fishers, and range from Arkansas to Key West. While a full-page image of a woman, fishing expert Lori Sloas is the first image the reader sees of an expert guide; she is also the only one present in this article. She is one out of the eleven guides that *Garden & Gun* features, and this disproportion calls the readers attention to

²⁵² Irwin Greenstein, "Taking Stock," *Garden & Gun*, December 2014/January 2015, 43.

²⁵³ Ibid., 43.

²⁵⁴ T. Edward Nickens, "Field Guides," *Garden & Gun*, December 2014/January 2015, 102.

the lack of women experts in the hunting and fishing sections. This could be because women have only recently begun to participate in hunting again, which means that time and skill must be acquired before reaching expert status. But, whenever there is an opportunity to showcase women in the field, *Garden & Gun* does try to present expert women hunters amongst the men.

For example, in the June/July 2014 issue, *Garden & Gun* features a female shooting a shotgun as the primary image in its article “Take Your Best Shot”.²⁵⁵ Wearing a striped button down, tucked into corduroy pants, a woman holds a shotgun at eye level, aiming at something outside of the image. With her hair pulled back and her cheek pressed against the barrel of the gun, this woman is standing alone, illustrating that she does not need anyone else’s help in order to shoot. Like previous hunting magazines, *Garden & Gun* encourages women to be contributors and participants in the magazine in regards to leisure hunting. In this way, the magazine is regressing back to nineteenth century ideals of leisure hunting by showcasing women, as well as wealthy men who are able to hunt for pleasure.

While *Garden & Gun* extols the virtue of hunting live game, it also gives the reader multiple destinations for target shooting or skeet practice. “Skeet on Steroids” is an article in the October/November 2014 issue that introduces the reader to a “shotgun sport that has been well established across Europe and is catching on stateside.”²⁵⁶ Like nineteenth century leisure hunting, *Garden & Gun* is harkening back to Europe as the ideal in genteel sporting. But, while Europe invented a new type of skeet shooting called helice, the American helice team is the current world champion. While *Garden & Gun*

²⁵⁵ Jed Portman, “Take Your Best Shot,” *Garden & Gun*, June/July 2014, 109.

²⁵⁶ T. Edward Nickens, “Skeet on Steroids,” *Garden & Gun*, October/November 2014, 44.

prides the South on its European heritage, it still has national pride in the United States, which is illustrated throughout its pages of devotion to the South. This can be seen in the advertisements that *Garden & Gun* publishes alongside its articles. These ads focus exclusively on the true Southern experience. One of the most prominent ads is for Charleston, South Carolina, and a part of the ad aims to entice hunters and fishers to the region by showing the wildlife that is in abundance in the area. Alongside these spaces, the magazine also focuses on the places to stay while hunting.

The magazine features luxurious hunting lodges for wealthy men and women to visit in order to experience some of the best hunting in the South, as well as a relaxation destination. “Wild Escapes”, as a part of the December 2013/January 2014 issue, names some of the best places to fish or hunt, all at a price. For example, Grosse Savanne in Louisiana is a hunting lodge that boasts “sporting bliss” as well as “a gaming room complete with pool and poker tables.”²⁵⁷ Not only do these locations offer excellent sport, but they are also a place to relax and experience other forms of luxury. Honey Lake Plantation in Florida is another example, where guests can “hunt for quail, ducks, and doves--sometimes all three species in a single day” and then later spend a day “at the resort’s spa.”²⁵⁸ These destinations appeal not only to hunters, but to people who long for a relaxing vacation. In this way, *Garden & Gun* further reiterates that leisure hunting is to be pursued at an individual’s want, not because of necessity. By showcasing these resorts, the magazine is reminding the reader that leisure sport enthusiasts don’t just hunt, they also enjoy their surroundings.

²⁵⁷ Monte Burke, “Wild Escapes,” *Garden & Gun*, December 2013/January 2014, 82.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

In the October/November 2014 issue, three sportsmen have recreated the outdoors in order to preserve leisure hunting. At first glance, the two-page introduction spread showcases two scenes of sparse woods. In one image, tall grass meets spruce trees as two quail fly through the sky. On the opposite page, a hunting dog is staring out through the tall grass, his tail is in the air and his stance shows that he is on the trail of the hunt. In large letters across the page, *Garden & Gun* writes: “Think the golden age of wild Southern quail hunting is gone forever? Don’t tell that to three South Carolina sportsmen who spent twenty long years transforming an old pine plantation into a wild bird haven.”²⁵⁹ By placing large block text over an image of the wild, the reader’s attention is immediately drawn to the phrase “golden age”. This phrasing brings to mind nostalgic images of the past, and the article then goes on to explain that this age has not yet passed, there are still hunting sanctuaries the South that harkens back to a previous era. The “golden age” that *Garden & Gun* is describing is the antebellum South. The hunting grounds of the past are idolized as the best time for leisure sports, and today the South is still struggling to regain the elite hunting prominence it once had.

The article, “Crazy for Quail”, starts by reminding the reader of the lack of wild bird hunting in the South because of previous overhunting due to a lack of conservation laws. Like the early hunting clubs, these three men have created a haven for wealthy hunters to come and experience wild quail hunting, something that has begun to disappear across the South. These men are reshaping the land in order to create a hunting realm for themselves. While this may help conservation of different animal species, the three men have altered the land in order to fit their hunting needs. The hunting area that these men have created becomes a space for the gentleman class to go in order to act as

²⁵⁹ T. Edward Nickens, “Crazy for Quail,” *Garden & Gun*, October/November 2014, 114.

sportsmen. This exclusive hunting club represents how *Garden & Gun* places an emphasis on wealthy resorts that enable relaxation and hunting to come together as a vacation destination.

“It has long been axiomatic that the glory days of Southern quail hunting have passed,” the article reads.²⁶⁰ But, by featuring this article, *Garden & Gun* is showing that the “glory days” have come again because of the dedication of the three wealthy, white men. The genteel, leisure hunting that the Old South experienced is now lacking, but thanks to Toddy Smith, Mac Stidham, and Edwin Cooper III, wild quail hunting is resurging because of their creation of a several thousand private acres of land that has been converted to a “family retreat and hunting camp” called Pineland Farm.²⁶¹ This land, located in South Carolina by the Santee lakes, was once an old plantation, but with the help of North Florida’s Tall Timbers Research Station, these three men have “worked for twenty years to bring wild quail back in numbers that would have sent Nash Buckingham into a full swoon.”²⁶² Since the 1960s, wild bobwhite quail numbers have dropped by “more than 80 percent”, which means that hunters have either turned to pen raised quail, or onto different species entirely.²⁶³ For a majority of hunters, stumbling on a wild bobwhite quail covey is a rare find, and “most quail hunters in pursuit of wild birds would be happy to find, say, three coveys in a hard day of hunting.”²⁶⁴ At Pineland Farm, a day’s hunt finds an average of twenty-five coveys.²⁶⁵ Not only does Pineland

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 116.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

Farm offer wild quail and large tracts of land for which to hunt, it also has prize-winning bird dogs and a stable full of horses to be used.

While a majority of the images presented throughout the article show Smith, Stidham, and Cooper posing with guns, or dogs hot on the trail, one image stands out: a black man standing by a horse. The caption of this picture reads: “Horse handler Ervin Smith prepares for a day afield.”²⁶⁶ Dressed in a large hoodie, orange ball cap, and lightly resting his hand against the pommel of the saddle, Smith stares back at the camera without an expression on his face. In the article, nothing more is said about Smith, or anyone else who works on the farm for that matter. While Smith is described as horse handler, which gives him expertise, he is not on an equal field with the three white hunters. He is there to aid in their enjoyment of the hunt through his work with the horses. Because of his status as aid, this depiction of Smith regresses back to the post Civil War hunting practices, where wealthy white men would hire newly freed slaves in order to retain a small piece of the Old South. This picture reminds the reader of the lack of diversity in these hunting spreads. Like twentieth century hunting clubs, which used blacks as guides in order to reminisce the workings of the Old South, this image puts Smith in the context of a laborer working for the wealthy man's enjoyment. Instead of giving Smith a gun and representing him as hunting along with the white men, *Garden & Gun* shows him working in order to aid in the wealthy, white men's leisure hunting.

Leisure hunting only exists when wealth is there, so the reader automatically assumes that these three men are wealthy. In the article, the reader finds out that Smith is a retired attorney and real estate investor, Stidham is an investment executive, and Cooper is an attorney and a businessman. When asked about how much money went into

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 118.

the project, Smith says that “it’s not inexpensive...but neither is traveling the world to golf or curating a personal wine cellar.”²⁶⁷ These examples are not trademarks of the middle to lower classes, instead they are a mark of upper class society. In this way, *Garden & Gun* illustrates to the reader that true Southern hunting is a mark of the wealthy upper class because of the amount of money needed.

While these leisure hunters do not need to eat the game they kill, sometimes *Garden & Gun* features recipes for hunters to use. “For the Love of the Game”, a part of the February/March 2014 magazine, follows three award winning chefs as they hunt for dinner. Walter Bundy, Sean Brock, Chris Hastings, and Sam McGann are preparing a Mid-Winter’s Feast, which is a benefit for the James Beard Foundation and the Lemaire Scholarship. “For me, hunting is about paying respect to the animal. That’s why I started cooking, to pay respect to these beautiful animals and use them to their full potential,” said Bundy.²⁶⁸ These chefs do not need to hunt in order to cook, instead they enjoy hunting as a leisure pastime, “who like and respect one another and appreciate the significance of bagging dinner.”²⁶⁹

The article is speckled with images of the men hunting, as well as the foods they are creating from the hunt. A large, full page spread of “cast-iron seared duck breast” showcases one of the meals that was later prepared for the Mid-Winter’s Feast.²⁷⁰ Thick cuts of duck sit atop toasted squares of bread, and are topped off with a dollop of orange marmalade, which ““helps the taste move along.””²⁷¹ Although these ducks were shot in the wild, the presentation is nothing less than first-class. In this way, *Garden & Gun*

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 123.

²⁶⁸ Donovan Webster, “For the Love of the Game,” *Garden & Gun*, February/March 2014, 96.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 101.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 99.

shows the reader that food that is hunted can be turned into a gourmet meal. These hunters turned chef have brought the hunting South onto the plate, but in a way that is refined and shows how the South's taste buds are continuously searching for the next best thing. Even though these hunters did not need to hunt in order to feed themselves or their families, they use the game they capture as a way to rework the product of hunting. Instead of a simple meal, these chefs turn their leisure sport into a creation of taste.

By showcasing leisure hunting as a wealthy sport, *Garden & Gun* is regressing back to the nineteenth century in the imagination of the South. By doing this, the magazine shows that hunting is not a redneck game, but instead is a sophisticated sport that is a marker of gentility. This enables *Garden & Gun* to set the white, wealthy Southerners apart from the rest of the South. The guns, locations, and hunters themselves are a creation of the wealthy, white South. While *Garden & Gun* is encouraging gender equality in its leisure hunting sections, it does not include race. The images and articles presented are akin to the nineteenth century outdoors magazines that showcased leisure hunting as a wealthy, white sport that was genteel. Like those magazines, the hunters in *Garden & Gun* do not rely on the game they kill in order to feed themselves, instead hunting is seen as a way to relax and escape the pressures of the working world. Even the game, when it is prepared as a meal, is dressed up in luxury to show that leisure hunting is not for killing, it is for reconnecting with nature in order to create a tasty dish. In this way *Garden & Gun* instructs its readers that leisure hunting is a wealthy man (or woman)'s sport that sets the classes (and races) apart from one another.

Conclusion

Garden & Gun is working to show how the South is starting to become a more equality driven region, in terms of race and gender. As a tastemaker and educator for the reader, the magazine uses alcohol, food, homes, and hunting as a way to illustrate how the South is changing. While it is undergoing changes, this doesn't mean they are rapid or have caught up with other parts of the United States. As a region, the South has historically been slow to change, but with the help of *Garden & Gun*, aspects of the South's attempts to reconcile race and gender are coming to fruition. But, there are still silences that the magazine has, and these are worth exploring. *Garden & Gun* becomes a tastemaker because it gives the reader instruction (in the form of recipes, home design tips, and hunting practices) on how to perform the part of a Southerner. But, the only section in *Garden & Gun* that can be argued as fully equal for gender and race is the food section, which shows how recipes are being reworked by different people in order to show that the South is becoming a more accepting region for all people. It is important for these recipes to be updated because it enables the kitchen to become more inclusive by showing that everyone is invited to work in the kitchen together. Unlike other sections of the magazine that struggle with race, the cooking section is seen as a space for interaction and connections to form between people of all walks of life.

For *Garden & Gun*, the food and alcohol section is the most accepting of the three sections I have studied. Men and women, black and white, are equally represented in the kitchen, but behind the bar only white men and women are seen. This creates a silence

that functions in the magazine as a way for *Garden & Gun* to ignore the problems associated with drinking and race. It is important to note that in the 2014 editions of the magazine, no black men or women are presented drinking, except in advertisements. But, these are not a creation of the magazine, they are a creation of the product that is sponsoring the ad. So, *Garden & Gun* does not feature any racial diversity in the drinking sections, instead the advertisements are the only place for race to be involved in social drinking practices. The lack of racial diversity in the drinking sections is a problematic silence that is worth studying. But, *Garden & Gun* does enable white women and men to actively participate as mixologists. Unlike the nineteenth-century South, women are seen as experts on how to mix drinks, as well as how to consume them. Although race is cut out of the drinking sections, *Garden & Gun* does enable white women to enter a space that was typically reserved for males. On the other hand, the kitchen allows race and gender to work on an equal playing field. Chefs are able to use their knowledge to update classic recipes and show how the South is progressing in terms of race and gender. These updates enable all chefs to be able to put their own mark on the traditional recipes of the South, such as fried chicken. While blacks have typically been delegated to the kitchen, *Garden & Gun* presents them as experts, not servants. In this way, *Garden & Gun* is creating equality amongst the chefs that are featured. By using food and alcohol as a rhetorical device, *Garden & Gun* is inviting the reader to the Southern table. This table is where all races and gender are equally represented and are able to have a conversation about the past. By acknowledging the inequality of the South, the region is able to progress; for the kitchen in terms of race and gender, and for the bar, only in terms of gender. *Garden & Gun* uses food and alcohol as a marker to show how the South has, in

some ways, entered an era of tolerance because of its acceptance of gender and race in regards to mixing and cooking.

While the food and alcohol sections in the magazine aim to be inclusive, the homes and hunting sections struggle with equally representing race. In the homes section, no black families are presented. Solely white, wealthy families own the historic homes that are shown. This creates friction in the magazine because as *Garden & Gun* equally represents race in the food section, it is unable to depict race in the home. Why is this? Is it because a lack wealthy black families exist? Or is it because the magazine is more comfortable and familiar with white families in these settings? Either way, the lack of black families in the home section of the magazine illustrates that *Garden & Gun* does struggle with race. The historic homes that are presented, when they were originally built, would have had slave labor being used in the fields and in the house. Without this free black labor force, the Southern home would not have been able to function. By not representing black families, *Garden & Gun* is showcasing the white, wealthy South as the primary occupants of historic Southern homes. This creates a silent space where race is avoided in the magazine in favor of retaining a white-only domestic sphere.

Like the home section, the leisure hunting aspect of the magazine is a primarily white zone. In the 2014 magazine, no black women were present in the hunting section, and if black men were there, it was not with a gun; instead it was as a guide or labor force. In this way, *Garden & Gun* transgresses to the nineteenth-century hunting ideals by depicting wealthy white men and women at the forefront, with blacks only as the helpers. In this context, leisure hunting is a way for wealthy whites to relax and reconnect with nature in a genteel way. Like European gentility, *Garden & Gun* presents hunters as

true sportsmen who do not kill for fun, but for the love of the animal and the outdoors.

While the game that is captured may be eaten, it is only in the most delicate of ways, with gourmet recipes used, not in a pan over a campfire. So, where are the Southern black men and women who hunt? Are they in another woods? Or are they being seen as lower class hunters, who hunt for violence or food, which makes them not relevant for the sports hunting that *Garden & Gun* focuses on? The hunting sections in *Garden & Gun* are similar to the alcohol sections, in that only white men and women are presented as experts, which further illustrates that the food section is the only inclusive space in the magazine.

But, while acting as a tastemaker and educator, *Garden & Gun* has delegated representations of race to the food section, this does not mean that race is only seen in the kitchen. Actually, it is quite the opposite for the rest of the magazine. While I picked three large sections to cover, *Garden & Gun* is a vast cultural magazine that discusses music, books, Southern personalities, fashion, vacation, lifestyle, and much more. In this way, my research could be expanded to include how the modern South is represented in these domains. By continuing the discussion on how the South is being presented by *Garden & Gun*, further research will be able to illustrate how the magazine works to encourage readers to become active participants of Southern culture and lifestyle.

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